

INSIDE: Premier Richard Hatfield's day in court

Maclean's

FEBRUARY 11, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SPECIAL REPORT

EUROPE DIVIDED



**The Soviet bloc
40 years after Yalta**





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

FEBRUARY 11, 1985 VOL. 36 NO. 66

COVER

Europe divided

Forty years after Yalta, where Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt met to decide the future of post-Second World War Europe, the nations occupied by the Red Army in 1945 find themselves locked in the tight embrace of Communist rule. For the most part, Europeans East and West believe that only a third world war could undo the legacy of Yalta. — Page 35

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES ARCHIVE



A dissident son goes home

After 2 years in exile, South Korean opposition leader Kim Dae-jung returns to his country this week, where he faces possible imprisonment. — Page 26



Trade ties under assault

Amid an unprecedented wave of protests over U.S. trade and investment links to South Africa, Congress is moving to curtail further ties. — Page 34



Hatfield's day in court

Premier Richard Hatfield's legal ordeal over alleged possession of marijuana ended in a New Brunswick courtroom last week with the premier's acquittal. — Page 6



The baby deaths

A group of medical professionals questions the scientific data that prompted a judge to decide that someone had murdered eight babies at a Toronto hospital. — Page 44

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LETTERS

Divided on unity

Your front-cover banner "The eclipse of separatism" (Jan. 25) should cause neither joy nor despair in the hearts of Quebecers or westerners. In Quebec the issue is not separatism, it is temporary separatism, with emphasis on the word "temporary," as in my personal. Westerners have placed their faith in Joe Clark's in the impending Senate reform. Western separatists are eclipsed by that reform which would give all Canadians balance of control of the Senate and equality with their peers, all of which in last words permanent. —HAT 5057/10000
Victoria

Your article on "The eclipse of separatism" was well titled if the subtextual issue of the word was intended. Most of us who are committed federalists are pragmatic enough to realize that the eclipse may well be temporary, which is why we are not all jumping in anticipated joy at the chase in the Parti Québécois. —a 6 (m)
Lakelse, Que.

No way to say thank you

Re "A fight over blood profits" (Follow-up, Jan. 28) John Moore should reconsider his opportunistic behavior. Doctors at the UCLA Medical Center saved his life. To say those who have done such a wonderful thing, even for doing something as "hefty" as generating benefits from his continued existence, is a shabby way of saying thank you. —MICHAEL A. PHILIP
London, Ont.

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Lévesque: neither joy nor despair

For a fair comparison

I wish to correct a poor comparison drawn by Peter C. Newman in his article on Expo 86 chairman Jim Pattison. Regarding the projected 14 million visitors for the fair, he wrote that "it took the famed B.C. Film Festival more than six months to sell only one million tickets" ("The optimistic mayor of Expo 86," *Business Watch*, Jan. 10). To compare a seating attendance to that of a world exposition built on 180 acres of property with an investment of \$1.5 billion is, to say the least, misleading. —JERRY J. BERNED
Vancouver, B.C. Place, Vancouver

The good-time kids and Feth

Canada's official Republican Extravaganza, Allan Fotheringham, has popularized my generation in admirable fashion. His Jan. 14 comment of "Treason and the good-time kids" reply to the Baby Boomers to the wall. By and large, we do tend to wallow in that middle-upper-class miasma of imported water and designer desserts. The Dean of Page Last did, however, cover some dangerous territory which could prove otherwise. There are still thousands of Baby Boomers whose dreams are haunted by a police action in Vietnam a few years back. Fotheringham's contention that the generation is Canadian "knows neither hard times nor war" indicates a memory which needs some fine-tuning. —BRANT BERRY
Ottawa

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, *Mailbox 1*, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5P 2B5, 777 King St. E., Toronto, Ont. M4W 1A7

PASSAGES

DEED Leading poet and controversial specialist W. Frank Scott, 85, after a long illness (page 38).

DEED Vice-president of the Law Reform Commission of Canada Jacques Fortin, 47, who helped reform Canada's criminal law of crimes in Montreal. Fortin who joined the commission in 1970, had taught criminal law at the University of Montreal.

DEED Pioneer jazz drummer Kenneth Clarke, 71, who, with Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, was an exponent of bebop in the 1940s, of a heart attack, at his home near Paris. Born in Pittsburgh, Clarke played with such musicians as Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong before moving to Paris in 1954.

AWARDED Toronto playwright George Walker, 36, with the \$5,000 1984 Chalmers Canadian Play Award for his comedy *Crossed as Love*, by the Toronto Drama Bench, a group of theatre critics. Walker won four Dora Mavor Moore Awards in 1982 for his play *Theatre of the Film Noir*.

ENAMORED Chrysler Corp. chairman Lee Iacocca, 59, who joined the company in 1975 and pulled it back from the edge of bankruptcy after Henry Ford II fired him from the presidency of the Ford Motor Co., to New York advertising executive Percy Jackson, 34. Iacocca's wife, Mary, died in 1983.

APPOINTED Veterans journalist John Downing, 43, who has been writing five columns a week for *The Toronto Star* since it rose from the ashes of the *Toronto Telegram* in 1971, an editor of the tabloid, by president Douglas Cruikshank. Downing replaced Barbara Aniel, 44, who announced last November that she had married cable company executive David Graham, 47, and would step down from her position when the *Star* found a replacement.

WOMEN To actress Farnah Fawcett, 38, whose marriage to actor Lee Remick ended in divorce in 1982, and Tatum O'Neal, 39, whose divorce from Ryan O'Neal, 43, who has been living with Fawcett for five years, a son weighing seven pounds, two ounces.

SENTENCED Convicted murderer Ray Cheney, 73, who was found guilty in 1971 in the 1970 slaying death of Sandy Beale, to three years in prison, by Mr. Justice Merlino Nunn of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court. Wrongly convicted Doris Marshall, a Cape Breton inmate, was released in 1983 after serving 11 years for the same crime.

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The grandest master of all

When Chicago-born Bobby Fischer defeated the Soviet Union's Boris Spassky to win the world chess title in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1972, he became an international celebrity overnight. His victory—the first by a non-Soviet since 1945—sparked a worldwide resurgence in popularity of the ancient board game to which Fischer had ungodfatherly devoted himself from the age of 6. Although the temperamental chess genius lost his title by default in 1975 after a dispute over the grand rules for a new championship match, the legend of his aggressive and unpredictable style still electrifies the masses. And as his namesake, 20-year-old Anatoly Karpov, battles with 22-year-old Garry Kasparov in Moscow for the world chess crown in the longest-running championship ever, many observers say that Fischer is still the greatest threat to the Soviet's firm hold on the game. David Hooper-Richard, publisher of *The International Player's Chess News Weekly*, a World Chess Federation publication: "No one quite knows who is the real victor



Fischer: 'No to this machine'

with Fischer still out there."

At 41, Fischer has a reclusive edginess in Pasadena, Calif., where friends say he fears a son assassination plot. Kept out of his long-standing habit of briefing interviews, he has refused to comment publicly on the current world championship. The only chess player ever to appear on the covers of *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Sports Illustrated* has not been seen in public for years and reportedly has no fixed address. His steps in the house of close friends—who are equally publicity-shy on his behalf. Former grandmaster Peter Bittman, who befriended Fischer in his San Francisco home in 1961, described him as "the best player ever to walk the face of the earth." During Fischer's life the two played more than 180 speed games, all of which the former world champion won. Observed Bittman: "If anything, Bobby has gotten better. He is like a machine."

As well, many see him as an eccentric. In 1961 Pasadena police found him wandering on a highway and charged him with vagrancy. He spent two days in jail and later wrote a booklet about experiences, entitled *I Was Trapped in the Pasadena Jailhouse*, which has become a collector's item in chess circles. Friends say that he avoids doctors as adamantly as he does the press. As well, he was a member of the fundamentalist Worldwide Church of God, has fragmented Non-aligned ideologies and, according to friends, runs a Moscow-based Jewish conspiracy to take over the world.

In 1969 Fischer denounced the Soviet chess establishment in an article in *Sports Illustrated*, in which he alleged that Soviet grandmasters were ordered to lose or draw games to advance the careers of favored players who were being groomed as potential champions. During the current championship games, London, Peter chess critic Harry Golombek and others rejected the allegations. "Write Golombek!" "Perhaps Kasparov has been ordered not to play well and has been given to understand that the consequences for him and his family would be disastrous if he did."

So far, Fischer has refused all attempts to draw him back into chess play competition. In 1977 he turned down \$550,000 and the chance to play a chess game at Queen's Palace in Las Vegas and \$3 million to play a tournament in the Philippines. Bittman recalls that Fischer plays to play chess one again for money. But Fischer has never publicly indicated whether he intends to return to international chess again. Apparently the economic, intractable and legendary king of modern chess is keeping the end game to himself.

—BRIK GLADSTONE, with
Cliff Johnson in Toronto

Q&A: MILA MULRONEY

A traditional wife at 24 Sussex Drive

When Brian Mulroney fought the federal election campaign last November, one of his chief assets was his stylish and enthusiastic wife, Mila. Unlike other recent Prime Ministers' wives—the erstwhile Margaret Trudeau and the career-minded Maureen McTeer—Mila made a public point of putting her husband out family first. Last September she became the first Canadian Prime Minister's wife to occupy an office with the couple's staff in the Parliament Buildings. Surrounded by family pictures and furniture from her personal collection in the three-room Laurentian House office suite, she was interviewed by *Maclean's* staff writer Ann Mulroney.



Mulroney: 'No one has ever told me what to wear or what to say'

Mulroney: The wives of Canada's Prime Ministers in the past 20 or 25 years have all been very different. How would you compare yourself to your most recent predecessors, Maureen McTeer and Margaret Trudeau?

Mulroney: I never attempt to compare. We each have our own style and our own way of doing things. Times have changed, which has allowed us to be more flexible in how we perceive ourselves. Maureen was a girl who started out in the party at 18 or 17 years of age. That enabled her to start at the grassroots and work to a higher level within the party than I have myself. I am much more a neophyte.

Mulroney: As concerning herself with other prime ministerial wives, Mulroney once said that she was the trailblazer because she established her own career and kept her own name. Do you feel that you are now a trailblazer?

Mulroney: No, I do not. I think Maureen made it easier for a lot of us to follow. I am very comfortable with the changes I have made.

Mulroney: No one has ever told me what to wear or what to say. I am much more a neophyte. Maureen was a girl who started out in the party at 18 or 17 years of age. That enabled her to start at the grassroots and work to a higher level within the party than I have myself. I am much more a neophyte.

Mulroney: I do not know what the 'Mila Factor' is. There was the support I had with the people I met during the campaign. Maybe that had something to do with it. I think I have a fairly good memory for faces. Also, I remember things about people that I have not. Maureen's first do you feel the 'Mila Factor' has enhanced your husband's popularity?

Mulroney: During the campaign, your husband's advisers told you that you should wear fewer diamonds. What advice are you getting now?

Mulroney: No, I do not. I think Maureen made it easier for a lot of us to follow. I am very comfortable with the changes I have made.

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concerned. There was a lot of territory to cover during the campaign. I was there as an ear and I listened.

Mulroney: Do you believe that Canadians are the real Brian Mulroney?

Mulroney: Yes, because we are all multifaceted. There are times when I would like the other side of him to come out.

Mulroney: What is this other side?

Mulroney: Brian Mulroney, as far as I can put it into words, is a person who has a true love of Canada. He is very family-oriented, very generous with his time, with his family and friends. He is very ambitious and hard-working. Those are all notes that I hope will come out during the next five years.

Mulroney: As Nancy Reagan was very interested in the appointments her husband has made as President of the United States. Were you privy to any of the decisions your husband made concerning cabinet and staff appointments?

Mulroney: Most of the appointments, yes. When I was asked I gave my opinion. I think the final decision is certainly his.

Mulroney: Your husband has very strong views. It would be interesting to know what reforms his opinions—which beliefs he holds and where he stands.

Mulroney: He is a visionary leader. He reads just about everything he can get his hands on—everything from Robert

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Lodges is a look at the life and times of Reggie Jackson. He reads sports and he likes newspapers. He also has a lot of friends and people that he has worked with across the country whom he consults. He advises people who work hard and who have strong opinions.

Maclean's: As Prime Minister your husband has to keep pace with other national leaders. Besides Prime Minister Mulroney, Thatcher is well-known. How has it changed your family life?

Mulroney: We respect our private time a lot more than we ever have. We took them, for granted, I think. It has also

changed in that I have had to talk to my children on a number of things that I never had to deal with before. Caroline had a few problems initially when she went back to school because she found it very hard to just blend in. She is a 10-year-old girl and she went through a little period of questions about what her daddy was doing and how that was going to influence her life.

Maclean's: How did you adjust her?

Mulroney: I advised her to have one really good friend that she could talk with, bring home, play with and please. Sometimes all it takes is one friend. Now she is very happy at school.

Maclean's: What do the Mulroneys do to relax?

Mulroney: We go for long walks, we read, and we are going to try and take up swimming. It has not sunk in that there is a pool yet because our time is so busy. Brian did get for a while but I do not think that he liked it terribly. And we always talk. Sometimes he will call me during the day a few times. Sometimes I will be sitting in the bath and he will be in the bedroom and we will be talking.

Maclean's: Pierre Trudeau rarely threw parties during his years. Will the same thing happen with the Mulroneys at Starline Drive?

Mulroney: In this time of restraint it is very important that we send out the right signals, especially from 36 Sussex. I think it would be inappropriate to spend a great amount of money on entertainment until the country gets back on its feet.

Maclean's: What do you want to accomplish in terms of your own projects?

Mulroney: If I can be helpful in the areas of child research and fund raising, I would be very happy. I would also want to work in the area of multiculturalism and in the political system because most of us are immigrants in Canada. If I can get the multicultural community running for office and comfortable in the halls of Parliament, I think that will be one of my greatest steps.

Maclean's: Did you push your husband to appoint more women to cabinet?

Mulroney: No, because he is aware how important it is.

Maclean's: Many people have called you old-fashioned because you got your family and your husband first. Do you broil at that?

Mulroney: No, because I am not old-fashioned. I think I am very modern. I have a strong mind of my own. I think a lot of Canadian women are like me.

Maclean's: Are you saying that you are the right woman at the right time just as you have often said that Brian Mulroney is the right man for the right time?

Mulroney: I think that there is a lot of merit in that. ☐

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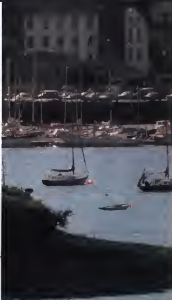
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FOLLOW-UP



Bloomgold, Margia, is disrupted for her Marquis de Sade' complex

A millionaire and a model

Alfred Bloomgold was a member of Ronald Reagan's "kitchen cabinet." His wife, Betty, was one of Nancy Reagan's closest friends. As a result, when 39-year-old model and actress Vicki Morgan filed a \$5-million "palimony" suit against the renowned department store co-owner and Sade's Club founder in July, 1982, the shock waves were felt both in the Los Angeles high society crowd in which the Bloomgolds were prominent and across the continent in Washington. But Morgan's action was just the sensational beginning of a high-profile American scandal that ended in tragedy. One month after Morgan filed her controversial suit in Los Angeles Superior Court, she also sued Bloomgold's wife for \$5 million more for stopping the monthly \$10,000 payments that he had been making to her. Shortly afterward Alfred Bloomgold died of cancer. And one year later Vicki Morgan herself died, the victim of a vicious beating to which her 33-year-old homosexual roommate, Marvin Panscott, selfishly confessed.

Last September, two years after Morgan sued Bloomgold, only the bells remained to hear Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Christian Mackay call their relationship "abominable, immoral and bordering on the illegal at inception." Throwing Morgan's claim against Betty Bloomgold out of court, he added, "A wife could not be liable for interfering with a relationship that might exist between her husband of long standing and his mistress." Mackay also denied almost all of Morgan's claims against Alfred Bloomgold, allowing only a \$280,000 award for Morgan's 14-year-old son, Todd, born out of wedlock while his mother was 16.

Still, many questions surrounded Morgan's death. After refusing to police, Panscott, a duplicating-machine operator, was convicted of murder and he is now serving a 26-year sentence in a California penitentiary. But several people have alleged that hard and potentially damaging videotapes of Morgan engaged in sexual acts with prominent Washington officials may have provided a strong motive for someone else to have murdered her. On July 13, 1984, the day of Morgan's funeral, Beverly Hills lawyer Robert Steinberg made headlines when he announced the existence of the compromising videotapes, claiming that a mysterious blond woman had brought them to his office.

When journalists asked to see the videotapes, Steinberg said that they had been stolen. He was subsequently charged with filing a false police report. In July, when Panscott went to trial, his attorney, Arthur Berner, declared, "We have information that the videotapes exist, and that the government has them." But despite attempts by lawyers and reporters to find them, the alleged videotapes have never appeared.

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Morgan, from the time Bloomberg met her when she was 17 until his death in 1982 he paid her as much as \$15,000 a month to be his mistress, confidante, business partner and travelling companion. Morgan claimed that one of her contractual duties "was to act as a therapist to help Mr. Bloomberg overcome his Morgan de Sade complex." When Bloomberg became ill early in 1982 he signed a contract promising her \$10,000 a month for two years in exchange for her regular visits to him in the hospital.

When Betty Bloomberg discovered—and promptly discontinued—the payments, Morgan added \$5 million to her original suit in punitive damages for Betty's alleged "malice" and "jealousy" in interfering with a valid legal agreement. But as the widow tearfully testified, she had been unaware of the February, 1982, contract, emphasizing that her husband had been quite ill when he signed it. As well, she added, "If Miss Morgan was at the hospital, I never saw her."

Morgan's attorney was Marvin Michelson, who is famous for introducing into North American legal parlance and practice the principle of "palimony," whereby an unmarried partner may be required to pay alimony to the person with whom he had formerly cohabited. When Bloomberg died, Michelson told the press, "Miss Morgan is grief-stricken at the death of Mr. Bloomberg. She is very, very broken up. She is also very hard up." Indeed, when the monthly payments ended Morgan was forced to sell her jewelry and Mercedes-Benz. She was also forced to search for other accommodation after receiving an eviction notice for missing payments on her \$1,000-a-month condominium.

Essentially Morgan and Panconati, when she had met in 1979 in a private mental hospital where both were being treated for depression, moved into a cheaper Burbank, Calif., apartment. As Panconati confessed, one night about three weeks later he went into Morgan's room and clubbed her to death with a baseballbat. "It was a little slow boy and was treated like a baby," he explained. "It was 'Vale this, Vale that'—I just couldn't take it any more."

Despite the scandal, Betty Bloomberg remains a prominent socialite in Los Angeles and still chats almost daily with Nancy Reagan about everything from shoes to politics. Her husband's lengthy clandestine romance is unlikely to be forgotten quickly. Although no one has translated the Bloomberg/Morgan saga to the screen or published a definitive account of it, Marvin Panconati is reportedly working on a manuscript from behind bars.

—BILL GLASSBORO, with Paul Morrison in Los Angeles

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The Reliable Airline **KLM**

The vigilante as a dubious hero

Riding a subway in New York City long has struck the fainthearted as a singularly foolish enterprise. The cars are dirty, the passengers stomp, the noise considerable, the crush of humanity so intense at rush hour that one may fear for his quota of oxygen. And yet, ambience is not the real issue. Those who were one another to stay off the trains are not extrinsically concerned

It is this or else that causes particular terror because, as every New Yorker is aware, the papers and television seem filled these days with stories describing how thin or that innocent party was not only relieved of his cash and credit cards but of his dignity and, sometimes, a pint of blood as well. Far less of this thugery occurs in real life than in the life of the imagination, but throughout the borough people are afraid, and their fear is valid, no matter how tentatively founded on fact.

Coast to coast, Americans have been dissecting this unlikely celebrity—his motives, his background, his state of mind, his place in history—and much of the sentiment seems to be on the gunman's side. When Gotti surrenders,

So far as he is concerned, Goetz seems not to want any of the notoriety attending his deed. Tracked for the first time by the now-familiar hordes of reporters and paparazzi, he clinged to his word—"values"—and trudged away in the company of arresting officers. Since, he has shown even less interest in stardom. What moved him to violence on Dec. 23 was a personal, not a public matter. In 1982 Goetz was robbed and beaten outside a subway station in New

The four young men who approached Goetz during that fateful subway ride on the 167 No. 2 train knew nothing of his unhappy past nor had they insight as to his mood of the moment. Most important, they were not aware that Goetz, slight, bespectacled and looking for all the world like an easy mark, was packing a .38-caliber revolver. Had they access to such vital intelligence, the

ply along and say yes, yes, but the kids come from a tough part of town demand the huge majority of black teenagers who would no more rifle a change box or hassle a subway passenger than they would take a midwinter dip in the East River.

By now, all of America has no married what occurred next. Goetz said, "I have \$5 for each of you," drew the \$5 he had purchased in Florida when he was denied a permit in New York and squandered off five shots. Each of the lean smokers was hit, two of them in the back. Goetz said next to have assisted a passenger who had been sent sprawling and fled the scene, only to protest himself on New Year's Eve to police in Concord, N.H.

Before the month will be grand jury in Massachusetts will to select Jones on weapons charges. There would be no allegations of attempted murder—a determination that troubled those who took Jones, even if acting in self-defense was obligated to account for the actions Shirley Casey, whose son, Darrell, 19, was the last shot by Gotti and now lives overseas with a severed spine, issued a statement through her attorney Darrell Casey's mother said the grand jury action only proved that "the state is asking people that it is all right to go out and pick up guns and shoot black

Government is doing nothing of the sort. But, like the fear of those who broadly condemn it, Shirley Kay's perception of what is true must be respected. Other blacks have reacted angrily, and even those who say they can understand why Gasta shot the four teenagers may have trouble viewing the man as a hero. To many whites, after all, that is precisely what Gasta has become. It is as though his most ardent defenders are saying, See, this is what happens when decent people are shot around

But decency plays no part in this story. A vengeful cruisedriver live shoots four young men of dubious character by accident on the floor of a subway car. One is in a coma and could die. Has anything changed? Criminals have not become Peace Corps volunteers. Anxiety only increases. Sooner or later someone else will jam an unlicensed pistol into his belt and leave the house persuaded that, like Bernhard Goetz, he can protect his family and win the admiration of his neighbors too.

Fred Browning is a writer with Newsday in New York.



Epp in the Commons, a flood of discussion papers, minor dissenting and a search for Epp's but not to consultation

CANADA

The perils of consultation

By Michael Clagston

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is rapidly learning the perils of the consultative approach to policymaking: it can turn a game of political basketball into battling precision for the opposition. Not only does consultation increase the opposition's opportunities for criticism, but it exposes the government to charges of indecisiveness when it is forced to retreat from the course of action it planned to take. Last week Mulroney's government—after already backing away from a planned extension of Canada's social welfare system—retreated from its highly criticized offer to the National Association of Japanese-Canadians as compensation for their Second World War incarceration and left Ottawa's controversial metric policy in place—more or less.

On the other hand, Revenue Minister Percin Beatty's announcement that he will introduce legislation to ensure that taxpayers are considered innocent until proven guilty in disputes with Canada's tax collectors—reversing the unpopular system that has provided in the past—was rare example of consistency in the Tories' tentative advance from

reticence to policy. Beatty's plan would allow taxpayers to keep disputed income until a court rules on income tax assessment appeals. And Mulroney made it clear that he intends to continue with his policy of consultation, no matter what the risks. "I know that we'll be searched," he told a press conference. "But I'm willing to pay the price because I think that's the way that Canada functions best." Throughout the week his government continued to release discussion papers on issues ranging from social welfare policy and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to the advisability of free trade with the United States and export financing.

Health and Welfare Minister Jake Epp led the parade last week by consulting a discussion paper on universal social programs that was enthusiastic rather than provocative. After weeks of heated debate in the Commons and drawn-out disagreements within the cabinet as the subject, Epp's paper proposed only minor tinkering with child support payments rather than the fundamental overhaul of the system that Mulroney suggested earlier. "We don't have a mandate to revolutionize," explained Epp. "We have a mandate to improve."

The 36-page "consultation paper" confirmed Mulroney's recent pledge that Ottawa would modernize universal social programs and proposed two ways of redistributing family allowance payments but left benefits for the elderly untouched. One option—reducing family allowances, increasing the child tax credit and lowering income tax exemptions for dependent children—would give the poorest families about \$175 more a year for each child, while cutting payments to better-off families by an average of \$570 a year per child.

Under the second proposal, the income tax exemption for children would be eliminated and the child tax credit would be increased, giving poorer families an average of \$356 annually for each child and costing richer families an average of \$440 a year, per child.

After accusing the Tories before Christmas of planning drastic changes in social policy, the opposition last week found itself chipping the government with falling to go far enough in brightening the poor while penalizing middle-income Canadians and sparing the rich. (Families with incomes as low as \$38,000 would lose some benefits under both proposals.) The Tories, charged New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broad-

belt, were "playing a very cool and cruel game" against middle-income Canadians. Declared Liberal Leader John Turner, "The Prime Minister's \$500,000-a-year book president did not suffer too much under the document. But a book teller with two teenagers seriously did."

The tone and direction of the government's discussion paper as free trade, tabled by International Trade Minister James Killebrew, suggested a strong inclination to work toward the removal of Canadian and U.S. tariffs and non-tariff barriers in order to restructure and revitalize the Canadian economy. Among the options outlined by Killebrew were proposals that Canada seek more national free trade agreements like the 1993 auto pact or call on Washington to work toward the elimination of trade barriers under a "framework agreement."

Mulroney reinforced that signal of growing U.S.-Canada ties at his press conference when he supported U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposed "Star Wars" space defense system and insisted that Canada must improve its power on and land control before it demands American action on the problem. "We are not neutral in regard to fundamental concepts of freedom and justice," he said of the controversial American defense plan. The Prime Minister went on to warn that previous U.S.-Canada acid rain discussions stalled because "we did not go to any bargaining table with clear hands." On the heels of that advice, the Tories' Globe Mail reported that some provinces will sign an agreement with Ottawa this week to halve acid rain emissions in Eastern Canada by 1994—and to share the multi-billion-dollar price tag.

The Tories' decision to take negotiations to continue to use informal as well as public measurements means that businessmen—with the exception of some small entrepreneurs—will still be pressured far out among retail, a threat that the Tories had previously to eliminate.

In the meantime, the Mulroney government was mollified by Japanese-Canadian for its attempts at meeting grievances stemming from the incarceration of some 58,000 Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War. At week's end, Multiculturalism Minister Jack Martin abandoned efforts—requested by the National Association of Japanese-Canadians and by both opposition parties—to force a settlement through Parliament that would include \$16 million in compensation and a formal apology. Instead, said Martin, the government would resume talks with the Japanese-Canadians. For the opposition, Martin's retreat showed that ease against the Mulroney government had turned out to be a slow ball that could easily be hit out of the park.



Hatfield leaving the courtroom a verdict pronounced by new allegations

Hatfield's day in court

By Chris Wood

Dozens of reporters, 15 lawyers and more than 100 curious New Brunswickers packed a Fredericton courtroom last week as Conservative Premier Edward Hatfield went on trial, charged with marijuana possession. Then, after listening for two days to the prosecution's case, chief provincial court judge Andrew Harrison, ironically a Hatfield appointee, declared that there was insufficient evidence to support the charge and found Hatfield not guilty. But the verdict was quickly overshadowed by the judge's surprising agreement with a suggestion made by Hatfield's lawyer that Scott Jones, television reporter Pat Ryan might have deliberately planted marijuana in the premier's luggage during Queen Elizabeth II's visit to New Brunswick last fall. With that, federal Solicitor General Elmer Mackay announced that the RCMP would conduct an internal review on the handling of the Hatfield case.

For his part, Ryan—who was already becoming the object of an RCMP investigation—declared in an interview with the ATV television network, his employer, that he had not been near Fredericton airport on Sept. 25, when police there discovered just over an ounce of marijuana in a side pocket of Hatfield's suit-

case. Ryan, an ATV reporter, said that he had heard of the drug seizure only after it occurred as the result of an anonymous telephone message from a female caller. He then telephoned a local news official, who, Ryan claimed, told him, "There's something to it."

Ryan pursued the story. In Ottawa Mackay's office admitted last week that Ryan met with the solicitor general at Halifax airport on Oct. 8—just eight days after the drug seizure. A spokesman for Mackay said that at the meeting the solicitor general made no comment on the case other than to tell Ryan that "there would be due process of law." A spokesman charging Hatfield was finally drawn up in Ottawa—rather than by justice officials in Fredericton—only after the Fredericton Chronicle reported on Oct. 30 that a provincial politician was under investigation for drug possession. In the Commons, Liberal justice critic Jake Norval's last week called for a public inquiry to determine where there had been "political interference" in the case. "The whole matter," noted Norval, "smells a sour taste." For his part, Justice Minister John Crosbie told reporters that he found it "unusual" that Harrison, on the basis of no evidence, speculated "as to whether somebody possibly planted something," Crosbie, who admitted that

he knew Hatfield was being investigated before charges were laid, and that a final decision on whether to appeal would not be made for several weeks. But, added Cooke, "I'm not expecting that there'll be an appeal."

During Hatfield's trial Crown prosecutor David Hughes argued that Hatfield must have known that the marijuana was in his suitcase when he handed it to an airport manager for reshuffling. According to witnesses for the Crown, the 50-year-old premier

of them had discussed the suitcase with Ryan. They all denied that they had. Added Judge Hartigan: "How did Ryan know what he knew?"

The premier's trial on drug charges came at a time when many New Brunswickans are outraged over the widespread use of illegal drugs in the province. Shortly before Hatfield led the New Brunswick Tories to their fourth straight provincial election victory in 1982, his government received—but has never released—a report prepared for

another of his wine political foes "Added Fredericton business Arthur Doyle, the father of several books on New Brunswick politics. "He's down to only one life left. He can't afford a single serious mistake."

The reaction of laypeople in the premier's own riding of Carleton Place, which he won with a modest 260-vote majority in 1982, to Hatfield's acquittal was summed up by Hatfield bartender Dale Oseer, who asked, "Did you ever doubt it?" But more skeptical New Brunswickers were inclined to agree with Perth-Andover engineer Gary Hatchard that the verdict "was ridiculous. It makes the justice system a laughingstock."

Although Hatfield has a commanding 50-seat majority in the province's 50-seat legislature—and a mandate that does not expire until October, 1987—he will have to move carefully to restore his luster over the next 20 months. There were indications that the verdict has failed to dampen growing disillusion within the premier's own caucus. "There are some very deep concerns in caucus, and the leadership tops the list," said a Tory back-bencher.

Hatfield's first public function following the acquittal came the week when he was scheduled to play host to the Council of Maritime Premiers in Saint John. He will face a crowded agenda of unresolved political issues that now largely ignore the three-month legal process surrounding the marijuana charges. Among them is a throne speech for the legislature session expected to begin in mid-March and the \$100-million provincial deficit that rose by 50 per cent over the past nine months.

After the verdict Hatfield issued a terse statement, saying that he was "pleased" by the outcome. But it was a measure of the premier's growing political isolation that several provincial cabinet ministers stayed away from their leader's victory celebration in Fredericton, even though they were attending an unrelated function in the same hotel. □



Ryan: on anonymous tip from a caller and a meeting with the solicitor general at various airport

chain smoked and prepared heavily in his air-conditioned limousine that day and repeatedly asked his secret driver about the whereabouts of his suitcase. But a transparent bond on the plastic bag containing the marijuana matched Hatfield's on right pocket—two fibers that are usually required for a positive identification. Moreover, the defense stressed that the suitcase was left unattended and collected in various places on the day in question. But Hughes rejected the contention that airport officials' handling of the suitcase could have provided an opportunity for someone to have planted the marijuana.

Hatfield's defense lawyer, Donald Orlin, first raised the possibility that the marijuana was actually planted by Ryan. Seeking the extreme media interest in the case, Orlin said that an even smaller reporter could have placed the marijuana in the premier's suitcase in order to create a sensational news story, and an exclusive report for himself. Added Orlin: "It would seem to me [the reporter] in a perjured way." Orlin asked each of the 18 Crown witnesses—including 38 Monties—whether any

of them had discussed the suitcase with Ryan. They all denied that they had. Added Judge Hartigan: "How did Ryan know what he knew?"

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MacKay: internal review



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Questions behind locked doors

He is the most heavily guarded man in Italy. And an Italian Police officer—the investigator who led a spectacular crackdown against the Sicilian Mafia last summer—extended his investigation to Canada last week. He was accompanied everywhere by a phalanx of armed Italian policemen and kept glancing between, after arriving in Montreal late last month to investigate links between the Sicilian and Montreal mafias, the magistrate spent those days questioning witnesses in a fifth-floor courtroom at the city's Palais de Justice. Then, after a series of meetings with ICJF, Quebec and Montreal police officials, the ally, black-bearded Falcone returned to Italy at week's end and by an unmarked route.

Falcone, who returned Mafia informers to Toronto's Toronto to Italy last July and then spearheaded an investigation that led to the arrest of more than 900 suspected Mafia in Italy and the United States, questioned witnesses through a French-Italian interpreter in the presence of Montreal Superior Judge Albert Gauthier. According to Giovanni Albano, a lawyer for the federal department of justice who took part in the hearings, most of the witnesses questioned by Falcone were captured under the



Clancino after arrest. Mafia money

rules laid down by the Canada-Sicilian Act for such inquiries. Falcone, said Albano, was "obviously satisfied with his week in court. He also seemed to be very satisfied with what he learned in meeting with the ICJF."

Justice department sources in Ottawa said that the main purpose of Falcone's visit to Montreal was to gather evidence for the prosecution of Vito Clancino, a former mayor of Palermo who is charged with "laundering" earnings from the Sicilian Mafia's activities in the dollar or international money trade. Clancino faces charges of illegally exporting Italian currency through a Larchmont-based firm and is known to have invested about \$2.6 million in Montreal real estate during the 1970s. Police suspect that Clancino's local contact was Michel Penna, a financial adviser to the Montreal Mafia family led by the late Vincente Cotroneo. Penna was murdered in 1982.

Falcone has described himself as a man who is "missing the office of the Mafia at its very foundations." Although Canadian officials doubted that his inquiry would result in any charges being laid in Canada, they were confident that his patient examination would eventually shed new light on the Mafia's activities in Canada as well.

—DANIEL BOURGON in Montreal

Repairing the Tory image

Still flustered with his victory in the campaign for the Ontario Conservative party leadership, premier-designate Frank Miller moved last week to repair some of the cracks that developed in the Tories' traditionally solid image during the final weeks of the hard-fought campaign. But the new leader made his peace overtures selectively. Miller announced that two of his opponents—provincial Treasurer Larry Grossman, the runner-up in the leadership race, and Agriculture Minister Dennis Timlin—have assured him that they would serve in his new government. But advisers to Grossman and Timlin complained that Miller offered the two men cabinet jobs with little enthusiasm. And Ray McMurtry, who finished last in the four-man race, announced following a meeting with Miller that after almost a decade as the province's attorney general he planned to shadow provincial politics.

Miller, who said he had offered McMurtry the same portfolio in the new cabinet, was present as a dejected-looking McMurtry made his announcement at a press conference. McMurtry, who suggested during the leadership campaign that Miller was too right-wing to lead the party, said that he had not decided what he would do next. But McMurtry has learned that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who met with McMurtry earlier in the week in Ottawa, offered to name McMurtry chief justice of the Ontario Superior Court's trial division when the incumbent chief justice, Gregory Evans, retires next year.

In the meantime, Miller, after playing down earlier predictions of a provincial election in the spring, attempted to make peace with the Ontario Tories' formidable party organization, the Big Blue Machine. Many of its key members worked for Miller's opponents during the leadership campaign, and Miller, whose political base is in rural Ontario, is known to view the party's inner circle with suspicion. But in an effort to ward off these, Miller invited veteran party strategists Hugh Bagnall, Paul Weir and Norman Atkins to join in planning for the next provincial election.

In another effort to solidify political ties, Miller, at Mulroney's invitation, planned to fly to Ottawa this week for talks with the Prime Minister before being sworn in as premier later in the week. Although McMurtry owed much to Premier William Duffin and the Ontario party organization, a considerable political debt for their help in last summer's federal campaign. Miller may have trouble drawing on the good will of the federal party in Ontario to win the Big Blue Machine bid. However, some

skeptical former Conservative leader Joe Clark have not forgotten that Miller bitterly opposed the Clark government's ill-fated budget in December, 1979, and privately believe that he must share some of the blame for the federal Tory election loss in February, 1980. Despite his rejection of an early election date, Miller's actions last week suggested that the next election—which must be held before March 19, 1982—was very much on his mind. At-

though he complained on a promise to eliminate the province's \$9-million deficit, Miller said reporters after a meeting with Davis that he would avoid deficit-cutting measures until he has received an election mandate of his own. For their part, both Liberal party Leader David Peterson and the New Democrats' Bob Rae, both of whom are anxious to test Miller's political mettle at the earliest possible date, predicted that the incoming premier would be a far less dominant political opponent than his shrewd and popular predecessor. —ALAN FETTERMAN, with Mary Higgins

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F.R. Scott's singular legacy

When the Degeneration of the 1930s turned Canadian farmers into paupers and workers into hobos, socialists became an appealing political faith for the nation's intellectuals. One of the converts was F.R. Scott, a tall young poet from Quebec City. Disturbed by the economic misery that gripped the country, Scott wrote in a friend in 1936 that "socialism is the only road to heaven now." Scott's almost religious belief in the worth of mankind became the basis for a life of singular achievement. A moving spirit in the establishment of the old *Cooperative Commonwealth Federation* (CCF), the forerunner to the New Democratic Party—a dogged defender of civil rights in Quebec, former dean of the McGill University law school and a distinguished poet, Scott, who died in Montreal last week after being bedridden for 18 months, at the age of 85, helped shape the course of Canadian politics, law and literature.

The son of an Anglican clergyman, Francis Reginald Scott was born in Quebec City and studied law as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University. After graduating from McGill law school in 1927, Scott married the former Marjorie Milford Dale, a painter from Montreal,



Scott: 'the human race is my race'

and immersed himself in the move to create a social democratic party in Canada. He helped to draft the 1933 *Regime Manifesto*, a document that became the political bible of the CCF—and, when the war shattered the CCF in 1940, Scott was once again on hand to help write the constitution. After serving as the CCF's national chairman from 1942 to 1959, Scott left active politics to devote his energies to the defence of civil liberties and to the translation of Quebecois poetry.

Although Scott only pleaded four cases in the courts, several of the cases that he championed became milestones in Canadian constitutional law. He persuaded the Supreme Court of Canada in 1957 to strike down Quebec's notorious *Pelletier* Law, a statute that Premier Maurice Duplessis introduced in 1937 to ban political gatherings by Communists. Scott struck Duplessis again after the constitutional provision's government presented the *Delgamuë* v. *Wenjam* case by using laws to stifle their aggressive protesting. Scott successfully argued before the Supreme Court of Canada that the Duplessis government had abused its power.

In 1963 Scott was appointed dean of McGill's law school, after being passed over three times because of his political activities. An ardent supporter of Québécois culture, Scott served on the federally appointed Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism during the 1960s but was never sympathetic to the view that language rights should be a matter of provincial responsibility. A strong federalist, he believed that a devolved federal government was the most capable instrument for economic planning and for the protection of human rights. And to one of his most controversial and heavily criticized statements Scott defended Ottawa's imposition of the War Measures Act during Quebec's 1970 riot kidnapping crisis.

Scott, who is survived by his wife and a son, Peter, a professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley, relied from McGill's law faculty in 1973 to devote himself to his first love, poetry. Although he did not achieve his first collection of verse until he was 40, Scott created a stir in academic circles as a university student by challenging and satirizing the overblown Canadiana poetry of the period. Regarded as a father of modern Canadian verse, Scott was the Governor General's Award for poetry in 1980. In a quixotic entitled *Conf*, Scott stated his political and artistic purpose in lines that could serve as an epitaph for the man:

The world is my country,
The human race is my race,
The spirit of man is my God,
The future of man is my heaven

—ANDREW NICHOLOUK

NATIONAL NOTES

A dwindling majority



Laurent: independence

When delegates to a special Parti Québécois convention last month voted to shelve independence as an issue in the next provincial election, Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau said the move was a pragmatic decision. Parizeau said the move was a pragmatic decision and he declined to be elected next year before going to the polls. But the emboldened premier may not be able to wait that long. Last week veteran *Playmate* John Basher crossed the floor of the national assembly to sit as an independent.

Basher's move followed the resignation of former cabinet minister Cécile Lévesque and Denis Vaudeville, who left Lévesque's cabinet the week before to protest his stance on nationalism. The cabinet defections left the governing PQ with a perilously thin eight-seat majority over 49 Liberals and 17 independents, with four seats vacant in the 123-seat assembly.

Nationalism revisited

Recently, Quebec's long-festering language divisions have given way to a new, tentative harmony. But last week a decision to ban an English-language Montreal high school to francophone students led to a near riot—and demonstrated just how fragile the province's newfound linguistic peace may be. The trouble began when parents and students from five traditionally English-speaking schools in Montreal's Town of Mount Royal met with officials from the city's Protestant School Board to discuss school closures. When the school board authorities announced that 120 anglophone students at Mount Royal High School would have to move to a new school in September, the audience erupted. Parents and students screamed abuse, while a group of angry teenagers started a shouting match with a board member. The board insists that it has no choice in the matter. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled last year that Quebec language law restrictions on access to English education were unconstitutional, but compliance in English-language public schools is steadily declining—while efforts by anglophone parents to relocate their children within the French-language school system has led to overcrowding.

An angry protest

After striving for more than a decade to alert Canadians to the perils of nationalism and cultural domination by the United States, the Committee for an Independent Canada (CIC) quietly disbanded in 1981. But now *Edmonton* publisher and former *oil* chairman Mel Hartley is convinced that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government is threatening to reverse the nationalist policy thrust of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberal administration, and he wants to resurrect a similar nationalist lobby—but one that is more broadly based. As a first step, Hartley is holding meetings across the country to mobilize Canadians of all political stripes, union members, academics and professionals, and he has enlisted former committee members for discussions. Founded by Hartley, author and former *Mc-*

lean's Editor Peter C. Newman and former Liberal finance minister Walter Gower, the CIC drafted the 1970s-present nationalist policies that were subsequently adopted in the Liberal's Foreign Investment Review Agency and the National Energy Program. The Mulroney government has already removed many of FIRA's powers and renamed it Investment Canada. Ottawa also has specific plans to revise the energy agency. Declared former oil chairman Hugh Martin "People don't want to walk blindly into free trade without safeguards."

Flames of bigotry

When the Temple Shalom synagogue in Vancouver's affluent Port Grey district was damaged in a five-hour incident two weeks ago, many members of the city's Jewish community hoped that it was an isolated incident. But last week an arsonist struck again against another Jewish religious institution—the Schern Temple Shalom—prompting fears that an all-out anti-Semitic campaign was developing. "We hope like we will have to have security guards for our holy holy days," noted a concerned Rabbi Philip Brogan of Temple Shalom. "But that is not the answer. It will turn us into armed fortresses." Brogan, along with other Vancouver Jews, said that the arrests were a direct result of the highly publicized Toronto case of Theodorin Eysen, who published documents denying that the Nazis executed millions of Jews during the Second World War and is currently on trial on charges of publishing statements likely to cause racial or racial intolerance. The anti-Semitic acts of arson in Vancouver were denounced by non-Jewish religious leaders and by Mayor Michael Haughey, while the Vancouver Police Department offered a reward of \$25,000 for information leading to the conviction of these rapists. Although the chapel was only slightly damaged by fire, Temple Shalom suffered an estimated \$400,000 in damage, including the loss of a sacred handwritten Torah scroll that could be worth as much as \$30,000.

A prairie welcome



Peggy: passing in time

One-legged former Steve Perry headed for Portage, Man., on snow-swept Prairies roads last week after more than 200 cheering Winnipeggers turned out to greet the one-legged 38-year-old cancer victim as he entered their city. While Perry was in Winnipeg, provincial court Judge Arnold Carter was so moved by the young rapper's "most colorful and inspiring efforts that after he found Gensdy Grogan's policy of passing good deeds from the Canadian Cancer Society office, he ordered him to donate \$2,000 to the society in honor of Perry. Earlier, Perry—who began his cancer-victim run in a Newfoundland island March 1981—had reported to the media that he had been granted to help cancer victims because of his family's financial difficulties. After he statement was widely reported, the Bank of British Columbia approved a whopping \$102,000 mortgage to save the family home and Hingham restaurant in Vernon, B.C.

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ESSAY

By Robert A.D. Ford

Lindes Palace in Yalta, the sprawling white-marble resort home of 19th-century Russian sea captain Nicholas I, is maintained today by the Soviets in all its imperial glory. It is preserved not because it represents an architectural monument of which to be proud nor as a reminder of a past over which Moscow prefers to draw a curtain. It is preserved because in its halls the Crimea Conference took place from Feb. 4 to 11, 1945. And there, for the first time, the Soviet leaders felt they had established themselves on an equal basis with their wartime allies, the British and the Americans. This achievement had, and still has, immense symbolic importance for the Russians. It signalled their acceptance as equals on both the political and the military level—and their hope, quite correct, that agreement at Yalta would eventually lead to a division of the world between its natural leaders.

The division of Europe that emerged from Yalta, while reflecting the hard realities of the military and political situation as the war in Europe ended, ran deeply against the expectations and hopes of totally everyone in the Western alliance and resulted very quickly in accusations of selfishness and betrayal. Josef Stalin, of course, knew perfectly well what he was doing and cynically used the issue of Yalta to confuse what otherwise would have been an unforgotten, brutal imposition of Communist rule on the peoples of Eastern Europe. He was doubt surprised at the speed with which the West reacted—surprised because, knowing practically nothing of the world outside the Soviet Union, he probably believed Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill had acquiesced in the Yalta agreements as a means of obfuscating what they meant, in his mind, have known to be the Soviet intentions.

What is especially surprising that anyone in the West should have believed for one moment that the Soviets had any other aim than total control of the countries they occupied. Moscow's obsession with security primarily meant taking measures to prevent an invasion from the West ever happening again. Given the Soviet military's concentration on land forces, this preoccupation meant extending Soviet frontiers as far to the West as the political situation would permit, i.e. the annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the incorporation of half of East Prussia, Poland up to the River Bug, including Lwow, the eastern portion of Slovakia, and Rumania. Given this buffer was not enough. The search for security meant the incorporation of all the countries under their control into full members of the Soviet bloc.

In 1948 after the military intervention in Czechoslovakia, the Soviets argued publicly and privately that it had been necessary because of the danger an unstable Czechoslovakia would pose to the security of the bloc. I asked a high Soviet

official at that time if Moscow really believed that. He replied categorically that it was the military's firm opinion that to leave a gap between the Soviet forces in East Germany and those in Hungary was not acceptable. There were many other reasons for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but I am sure the Soviet concept of security, which means in effect security only for the U.S.S.R., was foremost in their minds.

Having decided that Soviet security required the reconstitution of Eastern Europe, it was inevitable that they would attempt to impose the Soviet model within the limits of national differences. Poland was always the exception because of the difficulty of forcing this proud people totally into the Soviet straitjacket. The enforcement of the Soviet system in Eastern Europe was originally intended to provide a solid political and military barrier between the Soviet Union and the West and to prevent the contamination of Soviet culture by Western culture and ideas. The Soviets have shown repeatedly that they have no compunction about using force to maintain their military hold on Eastern Europe. What has been less easy for them to deal with is the problem of a new kind of contamination—disaffection from within the bloc.

The major aim of the Soviet leaders and the group of perhaps 100,000 who speak up the New Orderists (the Soviet elite) is to maintain the power and privilege they have acquired and to pass them on to their children. They have many reasons for their disposal for this purpose, including the army and the police. But the days of Stalin are past, and it is no longer

possible to rely on brute force alone. There has to be some justification for their "unfettered power." They have to show that they can provide security for the economy, law and order, pride in their country's position in the world, progress in living standards and an acceptable explanation—ideologically or in their hold on power.

In a period in which the Soviet standard of living has been slipping—and it is likely to slip even more if there is no control on arms expenditure—and when foreign achievements are not obvious, it becomes more important than ever to make sure that the ideology remains free of blemish. Given the nature of the Soviet state, it is highly unlikely that any demand for ideological, political or economic reform will come from within the U.S.S.R., certainly not from the lower ranks. But it is the fear of the Soviets that heretical ideas

reforms. If either or both set of reforms were permitted to take hold, the Soviets face pressure at home to introduce changes in their own domestic system that would eventually threaten the privileged position of Communist bosses all over the country. Therefore Czechoslovakia had to be crushed and, a decade later, Polish demands for reform contained.

The Soviet leaders have an immense interest, for security and ideological reasons, in keeping Eastern Europe under their control, preferably through a system of satellite states, by their own forces and their agents. There is a desperate need in nearly every country of Eastern Europe for economic reform, but as long as the U.S.S.R. is afraid to modify its antiquated economic machinery there is little chance that it will allow the East Europeans to do so. And as long as its political structure remains inviolable, it will permit only minor changes within the bloc.

After the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev, who died in 1982, elaborated on a policy that had been pronounced previously but not in quite so stark a manner. Subsequently known as the Brezhnev Doctrine, it stated in simple terms that what concerned one member of the "socialist" community concerned them all. And this convenient doctrine was later invoked to justify the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. Indeed, it went even further in implying that the U.S.S.R. was entitled to interfere in neighboring countries if its own security were threatened.

Before I left Moscow in 1980, a senior Soviet official, irritated by any criticism of his country's invasion of Afghanistan, insisted that the Soviets would never leave Afghanistan and that the West would be sure to forget, as it forgot Czechoslovakia. The Russians will in fact never voluntarily leave Eastern Europe or Afghanistan. They hope not, in the face of the evidence, the people of Eastern Europe will adjust to reality and that the West will accept the inevitable. But history is unpredictable, and human courage and ingenuity are factors that make long-term predictions uncertain.

One thing is certain, however. Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, will never cease to be an obstacle in the development of better relations between the Soviet Union and the West. The aspirations of the people of Eastern Europe must be totally suppressed and they can come to the surface at any time, as they did in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The West would probably have forgotten the Soviet takeover of Afghanistan by now if it were not for the latest struggle of the Afghan resistance. But it is unlikely to anything affecting the peoples of Eastern Europe.

The Yalta agreement was obviously not the cause of the division of Europe, although it put a gloss on it. The division was the result of Soviet military and political imperatives. Yalta cannot be reversed, and the West can do it to find policies that will gradually improve the material standard of living of the peoples of Eastern Europe, lessen—as much as possible—Soviet dissidence and permit the survival of the indigenous cultures that form an integral part of the European heritage. As one Sovietologist George Kennan said in a recent article, "There is no house worth a nuclear war." And it would take a war to challenge the Russians from Eastern Europe. ☐



Robert A.D. Ford served as Canada's ambassador to the U.S.S.R. from 1967 to 1970.

might penetrate the curtain from Eastern Europe.

The U.S.S.R. invaded Hungary in 1956 to crush an anti-Soviet revolt and to ensure that the country remained Communist and a member of the Warsaw Pact. There was no such justification for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The worried Moscow must, apart from the security issue, was the introduction of economic reforms by the Czech Communist Party itself and the parallel call to follow up with political



SPECIAL REPORT

By Robert Miller

is pointing in [that] direction." Indeed, in his article, Brzezinski described the current East-West division as "inherently unstable and potentially dangerous," adding that it was "likely to produce new explosions in Eastern Europe."

Among past "explosions" in the Soviet satellite the bloody 1956 Hungarian uprising ultimately crushed by Red Army tanks; the 1968 Czechoslovakian experiment in liberalization, eventually smothered not only by Soviet tanks, and the arrest of Communist Party secretary Alexander Dubcek; and the stormy 1980 congress of Solidarity, the independent Polish trade union movement that challenged the Communist regime and was subsequently banned while Poland was plunged under martial law.

Reforms in each case of major upheaval in Eastern Europe, the West reacted with extreme caution, taking great care not to encourage active rebellion within the Soviet sphere. The lack of overt Western support clearly helped to reinforce a sense of political isolation among citizens of the satellite nations. But after punishing the ringleaders, Moscow usually allowed at least token reforms in an effort to deter further unrest. Indeed, after widespread food riots in 1976, the Polish government temporarily rolled back the price increases that caused the outbreak.

In a similar gesture, the Polish government decided last December to try publicly four members of the interior ministry's secret police forces. The four men faced charges of kidnapping and murdering Father Jerzy Popieluszko, a 37-year-old radical priest who openly preached defiance of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's administration, whose task force is the maker of the Solidarity crisis. Reported North "Par officers of Poles, glued to their television sets and, thus, the most consistent aspect was that the authorities had chosen to hold the trial in public." The move considered to be an important signal of its reformist intentions. Said Ludwig Krukowski, 39-year-old deputy editor of *New Days* (New Wave) and a leading Polish Communist Party theoretician: "The trial is a guarantee that Polish society will be built on law and justice."

Jaruzelski filed martial law two years ago but Poland remains under and tense—even though most of its 37 million inhabitants are more concerned with the everyday struggle to live than with politics. Most, however, consider the law remains strictly confined and businessmen complain that buying necessities requires as much as the hours a day. Most consumer goods and a rich variety of foodstuffs are available in Poland's thriving unofficial markets.



Budapest's vibrant streets: "peaceful counter-revolution"

But few shoppers can afford to go as far as high as six times the official rates. A pair of blue jeans—a status symbol behind the Iron Curtain—costs a month's pay, a color television set as much as seven months' income. Said one weary Warsaw mother: "Life is very difficult unless you have money and connections. Then you can get anything!"

Despite the Jaruzelski regime's assurances that it will undertake reforms, the people are clearly skeptical. Poland is struggling to carry an estimated \$36 billion (U.S.) in foreign debt. Moreover, previous government pledges of reform often were factual or exaggerated.

The result is that hundreds of thousands of Poles want to emigrate to the West. Prospective applicants, a broad cross-section of the public's audience in the future, stood to nearly one million in 1981, over 300,000 in 1982, after the end of martial law restrictions on travel.

According to Janusz Onyszkiewicz, a mathematics lecturer and former Solidarity spokesman, the regime and the people have different concepts of political reality. Said Onyszkiewicz: "Realism should mean taking into account not only our political situation and our economic troubles but also things that are much more elusive, such as people's hopes of having a say in what is going on."

Leisurely in vivid contrast, the Hungarian capital of Budapest, 720 km to the south, with its modern after-Black and Winter-style traffic jams is thriving. Hungary's 30.7 million people enjoy Eastern Europe's highest standard of living, prosperity dramatically since the fall of the 1956 revolution. State-owned and private shops are well stocked with mouth-watering displays of food, as well as a full range of consumer goods. The National Bank allows secret banked accounts to foreign depositors. And since 1980, the 70-year-old Communist party secretary, has allowed limited private enterprise and so-called "peasant cooperatives."

But beneath the surface life is more complex, baffling a country that gave the world one of history's most impressive people games—the Riddik's Game. Hungarians wishing to enjoy the widely available but still highly restricted benefits can only afford them by "moonlighting" in second jobs, often in private-sector ventures but occasionally in state-run concerns. The Kádár gov-

ernment does not discourage their initiative. Hungary is still laboring under an estimated \$4-billion foreign debt. And the country is contractually bound to ship more than 600,000 tons of grain to the Soviet Union and East Bloc partners.

Housing facilities are scarce, too. The waiting period to secure a modest multi-apartment in Budapest can be as long as 15 years, and most young couples either live with relatives or subsist on a meager and care for partners—a practice known as "graying-in"—in exchange for accommodation. But Kádár, who assumed power 35 years ago, re-

forms of Eastern European politics at Moscow's Comintern University. "All is not lost. The Soviet Union has failed to impose control over art and culture. Literature and cultural journals quite openly note that they are part of Western Europe's traditions, that their influences come from Paris and Rome. Young people say they are part of the West. They would, declared, Soviet power, said, Charles de Gaulle's vision of a large Europe (independence of Moscow and Washington) 'just a dream.'"

For its part, France officially continues to reject the division of Europe and

Germany. Three decades ago, Jean Monnet, a former senior adviser to de Gaulle and one of the architects of the European Community, remarked, "The European Community, which concerns in a fashion more 'concrete' than the German-Like Germany is much I want two of them."

Meanwhile beyond Europe, the Yalta secrets have led to continuing disputes over Soviet relations with Japan. Forty years ago, Roosevelt arrived in the Crimea determined to win agreement from Stalin that when Hitler surrendered, the Soviet Union would join America and Britain in its war against a still powerful Japan. Stalin's price, which Roosevelt accepted, was the acquisition of Asian territory, including four Japanese islands in the Sea of Okhotsk northwest of Hokkaido.

Subsequently, the development of the atomic bomb—its first successful test on July 26, 1945, followed Yalta. By five months—made Stalin's help in the Pacific unnecessary. Indeed, Stalin waited until after the bomb was first used on Hiroshima to declare war on Japan only six days before Tokyo surrendered. But Stalin had acquired the Yalta-acquired islands, which Japan still wants to recover. Said Masamichi Imai, president of Tokyo's Research Institute for Peace and Security and a respected unofficial adviser to the Japanese government: "The Soviet Union cannot establish friendly relations with Japan without returning the northern territories, but I understood that this cannot be done immediately, as it would inflame a chain reaction [at border divisions] in Europe."

But Moscow has reacted nervously occupied by its treaty only once. It pulled out of Austria in 1955, after the Austrians guaranteed the country's status as a neutral republic. But former Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky, 76, in an interview last week, "A forced revision of Yalta would provide the political foundation for the Third World War. We only hope for the liberalization of the peoples of Eastern Europe, including those of the Soviet Union, in circumstances of peace—and gradually."

Wlad Dand Nark in Eastern Europe, Jean Monnet in Washington, Grand Masters in Paris, Peter Jaruzelski in Moscow, Siegfried Mautner in Vienna and Peter Moll in Tokyo.



maintain personally popular even though his intensely secretive fellow-countryman chafed under the Communist philosophy.

Struggles Hungary's arid pursuit of creature comforts has enabled the country to subvert its once-powerful movement for political independence.

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At the dawn of the Cold War

By Robert Miller

From an ideological perspective, the setting for the Feb. 4 to 11, 1945, Crimea Conference was as unlikely as the wartime alliance itself. The resort town of Yalta, 15 km northwest of Sevastopol, was a perennial playground of the czar, a balmy Black Sea playground where the Romanovs, their friends and relatives built their palaces and idled away the summer months. Despite the town's peaceful past and the heavy damage it sustained during the early stages of the second World War, Soviet Marshal Josef Stalin chose it as the site for his historic summit with the two titans of the West—U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. During the conference Stalin proved to be as extremely generous—and ahead—host And Yalta itself achieved lasting recognition as a place where great men had met to negotiate great issues—including the future of Europe—while the armies advanced relentlessly on Nazi Germany.

Smashup. The Yalta summit took place 14 months after Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin had met in Tehran to coordinate Allied efforts to crush Adolf Hitler and to begin planning the postwar world. Most leaders harbored some of the same East-West division of Europe to decisions reached among the Big Three at Tehran. But Yalta became best known among many historians—especially those who were American critics of Roosevelt—as the meeting at which Stalin exploited his Western counterparts and stole an empire.

By late 1944, after the Normandy invasion had successfully established a second front, Germany's future was virtually decided. A new summit meeting seemed essential—to decide, among other issues, what to do after Germany's unconditional surrender. At Yalta, despite his negotiating acumen, Stalin was clearly regarded as a junior partner. But little more than a year later, with the Red Army smashing its way west along a broad front from the Baltic to the Balkans and with the Western Allies not yet across the Rhine, Stalin's power was undeniable.

The site itself paid tribute to his importance. The Soviet leader refused to leave his own country—perly for security reasons, partly because he was dis-

turbed to meet his allies at their acknowledged equal. Unable to change his mind, Roosevelt and Churchill eventually agreed to make the long and hazardous journey to the Black Sea and planned a preliminary Anglo-American conference in the Meliter resort on the island of Malta. Churchill, in a playful mood,

Churchill worried about the risks involved, as well as his personal comfort. In Triumph and Tragedy, the final volume of his epic history of the Second World War, the British leader recalled his exasperation: "From all the reports I had received about conditions at Yalta, we could not have found a worse place for a

this war may well prove to be more disappointing than was the last."

Dismasse. They arrived from Malta on Feb. 3, in dinghies that were expected to number 20 each but which had grown to a total of about 700. Roosevelt was accompanied by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettin Jr. and by Harry Hopkins, his principal adviser. Churchill by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. Stalin's foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, led the welcoming delegation at Yalta airport, where, Churchill wrote later, Roosevelt "looked frail and ill." Accompanied by Molotov, the British and American parties drove the remaining 120 km to Yalta. In his postwar re-

mined, like much of the Russian peninsula, Yalta had suffered severe damage, the result of German occupation and subsequent Red Army liberation. Churchill's concern over his personal comfort proved to be largely unfounded—biographer Peter Bradshaw reported that in Yalta, the British leader "was amazed by the beauty of the sea and the beauty of the mountains of the Crimea." The biggest nuisance, apparently, was caused by bedbugs. In his book *Stalin: The Man and His Role*, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, the veteran New York Times foreign affairs columnist, wrote that on Churchill's first night in the Crimea he was awoken by Lord Moran, his personal physician, and demanded

offering priorities, although each of them agreed that Germany's defeat was nearly complete. Roosevelt, concerned about the Pentagon's estimate that the war against Japan would cost a half-million Allied lives and continue for at least 18 months after a change from the Pacific to the Atlantic, was sure that Moscow would declare war on Tokyo after Germany's surrender. Churchill's primary goal was to protect Britain's empire and to maintain its position as a global power. But with Roosevelt vowing to pull American troops from Europe within two years after the war, he was also increasingly concerned about possible Soviet domination of Europe.

Premonitions. Because Britain was virtually bankrupt from the struggle against Hitler, Churchill also sought an expanded peacetime role for France as well as a free and democratic Poland to counterbalance the Soviets. For his part, Stalin was determined to bring as much territory as possible under Moscow's hegemony and to protect Soviet security by reducing Germany to a handful of unarmored pastoral states.

Most of the conference was dominated by the Polish question, and Churchill extracted a promise from Stalin that a large Polish state, the western part of which would be seized from Germany, would have "free and unfettered elections" in which all political viewpoints except nazism would be represented.

Roosevelt was a secret agreement from Stalin to declare war on Japan, a pledge considered critical at the time but soon overtaken by the successful development of the atom bomb and President Harry Truman's decision to use it on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In exchange Roosevelt agreed to recognize Soviet claims in Manchuria, Outer Mongolia and in the Pacific Basin, where Moscow coveted several strategic Japanese islands. Stalin accepted Roosevelt's approach to voting procedures in the postwar United Nations, a compromise that laid the groundwork for the two rivalries later that year. And, most importantly, the Americans formally agreed to a Stalin proposal that the Allies repudiate all promises of war, a decision that condemned an estimated three million to execution or enslavement by the Soviet Union.

As they left Yalta, with the Germans near surrender, both Roosevelt and Churchill declared that their negotiations had been largely successful and that a lasting peace in Europe would follow. But within weeks Stalin's troops had annihilated their grip on Eastern Europe, and it was clear that the Soviet leader's pledge of free elections was empty. The hot war was ending, but the Cold War had just begun.



Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin at Yalta reviewing the map of the postwar world

despite the gravity of the times, marked the agreement on a conference rate by scribbling a few lines of doggerel: "No mortal to allow us father or father: From Malta to Yalta, and Yalta to Malta."

Yuletide. Both Roosevelt and Churchill had deep concerns about the conference. The American leader's chronically frail health was deteriorating rapidly—two months after his return from the Crimea, Roosevelt died—and

morning if we had spent 18 years looking for it."

The allies were already suspicious of each other, and Churchill also foresaw the historical significance of Yalta. Briefly a month before the meeting he wrote Roosevelt that Yalta "would be a faithful conference, coming at a moment when the Great Alliance was so divided." Added the British leader, prophetically: "At the present time, I think the end of

ence report to the British House of Commons on Feb. 17, Churchill described the meeting as "a disaster." "We muddled over the mountains—about which very slanting accounts had been given, but these proved to be greatly exaggerated—until we found shelter on the southern shore of the Crimea. This is protected by the mountains and forms a beautiful Black Sea Riviera, where there still remains, undestroyed by the Nazis, a few villas and palaces of the razed imperial and aristocratic regime."

and speeches. On one occasion Stalin suggested to Churchill by praising the lateness of the alliance "Pursue No," he added, "our alliance is so firm just because we do not discuss each other." It was a speech of supreme irony, because the three leaders harbored growing doubts about each other's motives. Indeed, that very week Stalin had postponed the Red Army's determined advance on Berlin without even telling Churchill or Roosevelt. Their divisions in part reflected their

The tragic victims of a superpower game



Soviet POWs putting refuse wagon at Weppert, Germany: wrong side

SPECIAL REPORT

On Feb. 11, 1945, the final day of the Yalta conference, U.S. Maj.-Gen. John R. Deane and his Soviet counterpart, Lt.-Gen. A. A. Geydar, signed a secret agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war. The details of that secret were not released to the American public until more than a year later. And the consequences—the favorable return of more than five million Soviets to their homeland to face firing squads or the horrors of the Gulag Archipelago—were not fully documented for another 38 years. Those documents revealed that after the Holocaust, the treatment of Soviet prisoners, defectors, displaced persons and captives was perhaps the most heinous episode of the last great war.

Suspects: The Yalta agreement made no reference to the use of force in repatriating people liberated by either the Allies or the Soviets. Neither did international law nor conventions in effect at the time—The Hague (1864 and 1907) and Geneva (1929). But six months before Yalta, Lend Lease made a secret pact with Moscow to forcefully return all Soviet prisoners. And even without an agreement, the U.S. army in 1944 herded 1,100 Russian prisoners onto a Soviet ship in San Francisco. A Pentagon document, published in *Julius Epstein's Operations Around* (now more for the U.S. reputation program) reads in part, "Although the Yalta agreement

did not contain any explicit statement that Soviet citizens should be repatriated regardless of their personal wishes, it was so interpreted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff." Many Western diplomats argued against the return, but the military's fear of Soviet reprisals against 100,000 Allied POWs won out.

Treason: It was even known previously by the ear of revolution that Marshal Josef Stalin was preparing his decree 250, issued in 1945, declaring, "A prisoner captured alive by the enemy [is] not a traitor." In fact, when he learned that his own son, Jacob Dneparsky, had been captured, Stalin said, "I have no son called Jacob." Stalin's words were broadcast into German POW camps. Hearing them, Joseph Dneparsky would be throwing himself onto electrified barbed wire. Thousands of others, when they learned that the Allies would not give them sanctuary, contemplated or attempted suicide. In the Soviet command, Maj. Ivanov, to his former benefactors: "Do not be smiling as to our deaths after all. I believed in you. Democracy has let us down." The vast ma-

jority of those who returned were guilty only of being caught on the German side of the front. Soviet officials were mean-spirited, more than 60,000 were under 30.

By the end of the war more than 30,000 anti-Communist Cossacks, including women, children and orphans who had left Russia between 1917 and 1920, were living near Leningrad. Their British captors had assured them that they would be protected under the Geneva convention. When they learned that their captors planned to return all of them to the Soviet Union, they staged a hunger strike, starving themselves to death. "We prefer to starve rather than return to the Soviet Union," defiance to board transport trucks, they were struck with rifle bullets until they were unconscious, then thrown by British soldiers onto the railways.

That was only the beginning. In the United States about 200 Soviet nationals were still being held at Fort Dix, N.J., four months after Yalta. Determined to carry out the repatriation, the army drove the prisoners from their barracks with tear gas in June, 1945, but not before three had hanged themselves. At Dachau, in January, 1946, U.S. soldiers transported Soviet prisoners to force them from their barracks as part of the program. Escaping from self-inflicted wounds, the Soviets pleaded with the Americans to shoot them rather than be returned to the Soviet Union—and indeed 11 prisoners died and 30 were wounded in the operation. At Flensburg, Germany, Sgt. William Connor Jr., then a U.S. army translator, saw several men commit suicide. "Two rammed their heads through windows, sawing their necks on the broken glass until they died," he wrote in *On to Every Man a Minute*.

Ultimately, of the approximately 5.2 million Soviet repatriated by the Allies, some 250,000 men went to the Gulag or forced labor camps. Sentences ranged from three to 25 years, with the most common sentence being 18 years. Approximately 11 million were returned to service in the military, and another 18 million were allowed to return to their civilian lives. The Soviet Union carried 300,000 of them. —JILL QUINN

Russian prisoner Singer



Smothering divisions in Yugoslavia

A s in other Communist countries, repression is a fact of political life in Yugoslavia. As a result, when the nation's leaders ordered police to raid a clandestine study session in Belgrade last April, they did not expect it to be a clash. But within hours of arresting one of the meeting's participants, 39 other Yugoslav dissidents asked that they, too, be arrested—and they sent their demands in writing to the government. And when the six people finally went on trial last Nov. 6, even the former Communist party daily *Borba* was moved to voice its displeasure. Apparently in response, the prosecution freed one of the defendants and reduced charges against three others from conspiracy to undermine the state, which carries a maximum 35-year sentence, to

obscure, in some cases sympathetic. Says Markovic: "This trial is an attempt at totalitarianism. A growing number of intellectuals want to discuss the current economic crisis, say so are here, what are the causes, who is responsible. But any critical inquiry would naturally lead to the leadership."

Division: On other issues, too, foreign policy, most Yugoslavs remain firmly committed to the government's official policy. That program stresses military and independence from Moscow. But five years after the death of former president Josip Broz Tito, the right-most ruling philosophy—one member from each of six republics and two autonomous regions—has a growing revolt against its handling of the economic crisis. In turn, the party itself

initially defective. It should be demolished and another one appointed."

Within the party, the system of indirect elections has produced growing alienation. While two million party members keep the party cards to avoid losing jobs at state, recruiting has declined dramatically—to 15,000 last year from 300,000 in 1975. As a result, critics both inside and outside the party are publicly debating such reforms as trimming the nation's administrative drag—some estimates, rate bureaucrats at 35 per cent of the total work force—and replacing older, more conservative leaders.

Even the government's defenders agree that Tito's complicated 1974 constitution acts as a potential brake on attempts at reform—preventing the



Slipping grip in Sarajevo: a cumbersome constitution, economic stagnation and political confusion

the lesser offense of hostile propaganda. Last week, as Yugoslavia awarded the verdict, the trial was the talk of Belgrade. Explained Smilja Avramovic, a professor of law at the University of Belgrade: "It's the government and the party which are now on trial."

Ties: That assessment is widely shared in Yugoslavia—among factory workers and managers, in the professions and even among moderate members of the League of Communists, the local organization for the Communist party. Says Stokodan Vukobratovic, a Belgrade political columnist and party member: "The trial is nonsense, but as a nation we have a tendency to make moralistic out of it." Philosophy professor Mihailo Markovic, whose dissident views have led the authorities to ban him from his Belgrade university

confronts dangerous apathy at the grassroots and a dormant debate about the reforms needed to restore morale and ease the nation's economic burden. The two problems are closely interrelated. Through a combination of over-indebted investment and uncontrolled consumer spending, the Yugoslav debt has climbed to \$10 billion (U.S.). Living standards have fallen sharply—by as much as a third in the past five years, according to Vukobratovic. Consumer items such as coffee and detergent are in short supply. Unemployment has reached one million—17.5 per cent—and an outbreak of strikes, as early as 30,000 in an eight-month period last year, clearly reflect working-class dissatisfaction. Stokodan Vukobratovic, a Belgrade Press magazine last year: "What the federal government is doing is ter-

minations of a single national leader. Reforms are subject to endless debate among the leaders, and the policies that do emerge are frequently subverted by regional bosses.

Deadlock: The country, Markovic believes, is nearing a "turning point" and he expects a Western diplomatic breakthrough. "The trial is nonsense, but as a nation we have a tendency to make moralistic out of it." Says Vukobratovic that major reforms are needed in the 1974 constitution, perhaps at next year's party congress, in order to break the political deadlock. He even that, dissidents' claim, may not be enough. Says writer Milovan Djilas, one Tito's confidant and later his trenchant critic: "The [political] struggle will go on for a long time. And it's impossible to say how it will end."

—DAVID NORTH in Belgrade

A dissident awaits his fate



Kim prior to his departure for Seoul: capable of galvanizing the opposition

After two years of exile in the United States, South Korea's leading opposition politician, Kim Dae-jung, left his well-guarded Hill-farm apartment outside of Washington, D.C., last week to arrive home to a future likely to be as difficult as his past. Now 59, Kim spent six years under house arrest, followed the assassination attempt—by which he was permanently disabled—and was sentenced to death by South Korea's military government for sedition. With the help of the Reagan administration, that 1980 sentence was commuted to 30 years in jail, and two years later he was released to seek medical treatment in the United States.

Looking tired and worn last week, Kim prepared for his next encounter with his longtime foe, South Korean President Chun Doo-hwan. High-ranking officials close to Chun have hinted that Kim may be imprisoned or placed under house arrest while he arrives at Seoul's Incheon International Airport on Feb. 8. Still, he was determined to go—despite a "bribe shakedown" of some 30 high-profile U.S. legislators and human rights advocates. "I look forward to rejoining my people," Kim told *Maclean's* last week. "I am looking for a dialogue, I am looking for democracy."

The timing of Kim's return is politically opportune and potentially explo-

ative. He will arrive just four days before national assembly elections, the first since 1981. Few campaigns could promise more polarized platforms. For Kim and his followers in the newly formed New Korea Democratic Party coalition, the issue is democracy and human rights. For Chun and his ruling Democratic Justice Party, the election is about stability and continued prosperity. Chun's forces are expected to win the vote, but few observers think the results will suppress a growing mood of political mobilization.

Seoul's answers about Kim's return are anything but idle. Political analysts regard him as the one man capable of galvanizing a disgruntled opposition. More than a decade ago he narrowly lost a presidential election to the reigning incumbent, Park Chung-hee, in what was widely viewed as a rigged vote. Park's successor, Chun, overruled Kim on trumped-up sedition charges following a bloody uprising in the southern city of Kwangju.

But while Western observers expect Kim's return to generate new po-

litical tensions, most doubt Kim will suffer the same fate as the late Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino—shot to death in August, 1983, shortly after he arrived in Manila after exile in the United States. For one thing, Washington has rarely applied pressure on the Blue House (Chun's presidential palace), warning that the future of Korea-American relations and a proposed military aid package Chun has requested may depend on how Kim is received. Perhaps more important, South Korea is anxious not to tarnish its international posture as it prepares to showcase its remarkable economic development at the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Seoul.

In fact, since the end of the Korean War in 1953, the South has emerged as one of the dominant commercial powers in Asia, with booming exports, a seven-per-cent annual growth rate and a population of 38 million. But while Seoul's skyline has begun to resemble Tokyo or Manhattan, the elevated bourgeoisie that runs through the capital's glittering central core shares none of that prosperity. Foreign debt stands at \$50 billion (U.S.) and wealth remains firmly in the hands of a few.

Political power, too, is tightly controlled. Senior politicians, including Kim, remain banned from politics until 1988, when Chun has promised to reform and restore democracy. It is still unclear whether a re-elected opposition candidate will spark such overt support in a society that allows little dissent and discourages free expression. Indeed, last week the government-controlled media devoted only a few lines to Kim's impending return. And apart from scattered church and student protests, the opposition's political appearance remains primitive. Still, the increasing confrontation between the military dictatorship and the frustrated civilians could threaten South Korea's future as a nation.

Worried Kim "If we fail to bring about the restoration of democracy within a few years, I am afraid we cannot avoid polarization."

—PETER MCGILLAN in Tokyo
and
—JAMES W. HAN in Washington

Chun: stability and growth



Weinberger: A growing pessimism over Washington's ability to trim \$50 billion

THE UNITED STATES

The budget obstacle course

It is an annual ritual that creates a thunder of criticism. And this year is no exception. As the White House last week prepared to submit its 1985 budget to Congress on Feb. 4, the document faced formidable—and bipartisan—opposition. Few analysts disagreed with the President's proposal to trim the deficit by \$81 billion. But lawmakers were divided over President Ronald Reagan's plan to reach that goal by freezing or cutting all government budgets except the Pentagon's. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger objected that trimming military spending could jeopardize important arms negotiations with the Soviet Union—an assertion that many congressmen rejected. The nearly \$200-billion deficit, said Republican Senator Nick Hatfield, "is of such magnitude it calls for total mobilization. And Cap Weinberger cannot be a draft dodger."

In fact, the opposition assailed the conventional Capitol Hill rhetoric. Senate Republican leaders gathered privately to draft their own counter budget. The anticipated end of their program cuts—despite a freeze on all government spending—including the defense budget—at 1985 levels. Still, even that alternative has political risks. To be effective, any freeze would require cancellation of automatic cuts-of-living increases in social security benefits. And cutting popular programs, many Repub-

licans fear, could mean disaster in the congressional elections next year. Said Senator John Hoyer (D-Pa.), "I hope Cap Weinberger and Ronald Reagan understand that we are going to read some size on their part to protect Republicans. Putting them between a rock and a hard place is not going to help."

Weinberger himself lashed furiously to prevent any further reduction in Pentagon spending. He has already agreed to give \$8.7 billion from the projected \$295-billion budget and he claims that an additional cut would put the nation at strategic risk. But many experts disagree. Said Allen Stein, chief economist at New York-based Shearman, Lordman, Ross & Inc., "More could be cut from defense without a loss of security." Indeed, just changing the requirement for a full pension for men from 30 years of service to 35 years would save \$6.4 billion by 1989.

Still, analysts remained pessimistic last week that either Reagan or Congress will be able to achieve the desired \$81-billion reduction. If the final agreement falls far short of that figure U.S. interest rates may rise. In fact, Ottawa will likely make that move—to keep investment in Canada and prevent further shrinkage in the value of the Canadian dollar. Indeed, how Congress deals with the deficit could well determine the fate of Canada's fragile economic recovery.

—LAN ARTHUR in Washington

Exonerating a Reagan ally

When Edwin Meese arrived on Capitol Hill to testify before the U.S. Senate's judiciary committee last week, many political observers assumed his confirmation as U.S. attorney-general would be routine. The program was based on a 100-page study prepared last year by Jacob Stein, a court-appointed lawyer. After a series of allegations of impropriety, Stein's investigation cleared Meese—according to President Ronald Reagan—of any criminal wrongdoing. As well, a subsequent review of Meese's study by the Office of Government Ethics (OGE) concurred the longtime Bush aide on ethical grounds. But Meese's prospects soured briefly after disclosure, on the eve of the Senate hearings, that two out of three members had found Meese, 55, in violation of government ethics standards.

In the secret report, the staff lawyers said Meese had given the appearance of impartiality by joining a White House dream to appoint someone other than J. McKenna—who had previously arranged loans totaling \$40,000 (U.S.) for Meese—to the U.S. Postal Service board of governors. But OGE director David Martin, a Republican, and acknowledged administration critics had already made his decision before the judiciary committee, insisting that both he and his staff later agreed that Meese only had "an appearance of bias." Appearance is one thing. An actual violation is quite another. "It is impossible to distinguish between a Democratic senator, Meese himself admitted 'If I had a choice... I would do some things over. But you can't revise history. My decisions were made on the highest standards I had at the time.'"

There were new questions, too, about other old problems, including a \$10,000 payment to Meese in 1983 for moving expenses during the transition from Jimmy Carter's presidency to Reagan's. When Meese, a former California attorney, declined, he noted that he could not legally accept funds for moving costs, the payment was redesignated "consulting fees." That figure, Meese said last week, was less than he would have received for comparable work as a consultant to the White House. Stein's majority on the panel, Meese was expected to recommend this week for the full Senate's confirmation. But with the renewed attack on his character, Democrats may have withheld Meese's reputation and eroded his authority.

—LAN ARTHUR

Kirkpatrick's farewell



Kirkpatrick, frustration

The 30-minute meeting was, by all accounts, cordial. But when United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick emerged from the Oval Office last week, her long-expected resignation was official. Relinquishing cabinet rank, the 56-year-old former political science professor announced that she was leaving New York after four years and returning to teaching and writing in Washington.

A seaside dispute

It has been called the most charmingly tactless beach resort case of the Cille d'Aur. It is also a serious impediment to Egyptian-Israeli relations. When Israeli troops withdrew from the Sinai in April, 1982, they returned land which both sides recognized was under Egypt's sovereign control. But the ownership of 10 minor parcels of sand remained contested, including Tabu—a thin one-kilometre-wide strip of beach front on the Gulf of Aqaba. The dispute results from a poorly drafted 1966 survey of a map, which left it unclear whether Tabu belonged to Egypt or to Ottoman-era Palestine. Now, neither side can agree on how to resolve the sovereignty question. Cairo has called for international arbitration; Jerusalem wants to establish bilateral conditions. In the meantime, pursuing its claim to the beach, Israel permitted the construction of a resort interspersed hotel and a Tahitian-style beach club, complete with palm trees and thatched cottages. Last week, agreeing to shelve the sovereignty issue temporarily, Egyptian and Israeli diplomats covered around a U-shaped table in Beersheba to discuss a formula for pricing Tabu with multinational companies instead of Israeli officers. The three days of talks ended inconclusively, but both sides agreed to draft new proposals and meet again later this year in Jerusalem. And because it was the first direct meeting between Egyptian and Israeli negotiators in over two years, the most important aspect of last week's session was that it took place at all.

Expediting a settlement

For more than a century the Central American nation of Guatemala has hovered just below the U.S. system's spotlight. Belated Republican efforts to resolve the conflict have floundered because of Guatemala's chronic political instability. However, the current regime of Gen. Guastamundo Mejia Victoria now seems prepared to make significant concessions to expedite a settlement. His predecessor laid claim to the southern third of Belize, which was independent from Britain in 1981, was known as British Honduras. But in exchange for recognition of Belize's independence,

Mejia is demanding just two tiny islands in the Gulf of Honduras. A settlement would allow Guatemala to gain a historic port—suspended across to the Atlantic Ocean. It would also permit Britain to withdraw its 1,200-man army unit, garrisoned in Belize as a deterrent to any Guatemalan attempt to enforce the claim. But as the three nations prepared for exploratory talks next week in New York, Guatemalan optimism was tempered by economic reality. Spending by British troops represents 15 per cent of Belizean revenues and an early departure would threaten Prime Minister Manuel Aguilar's pledge of economic recovery. In 1981 London said that it would keep the army in Belize for "an appropriate period." Last week the British foreign minister, Denis Healey, said he wanted "to have it spelled out that the appropriate period" is not going to be soon.

Canada and Contadora

Without fanfare, Ottawa has quietly begun playing an active role in the Contadora process—the two-year-old effort by Latin American nations to end the conflicts wrecking Central America. Canada has always supported the peace effort, but recently Canadian diplomats have become directly involved—at Contadora's request—in helping draft key sections of a proposed treaty, those dealing with ensuring the removal of all foreign military advisers from the region and other verification mechanisms. Officially, the Canadian role is limited to providing "comments" on two draft treaties now circulating. Unofficially, the comments are comprehensive and impassive, often to be written directly into whatever version of the treaty the five Central American republics finally accept. "It's very detailed," Canada's Costa Rican-based ambassador, Francis Fillet, said last week. "It's not just an airy-fairy thing. You've got to get down to practical stuff." Ottawa is reluctant to be drawn more closely into the troubled Central American scene. The Gulf between left-wing Nicaragua and the U.S.-backed neighbors Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras is politically sensitive and the outlook for the peace initiative is decidedly gloomy. And prospects for progress faded further last week when Contadora's scheduled Feb. 14 meeting in Panama, called to discuss the treaty's security provisions, was in danger of being cancelled.

Loyalties in question



Peeling: 'Grown Jewish'

They were called "the Crown Jewels"—the British government's most secret documents about the sinking of an Argentine warship during the 1982 Falklands War. Last week Chris Poirer, the defence ministry's civil servant who leaked these documents in an opposition MP, went on trial at London's Old Bailey criminal court, charged with violating Britain's Official Secrets Act. Indeed, the war trial—relating to the war cabinet's decision to torpedo the enemy boat, killing 385 Argentine sailors—was so sensitive that the trial immediately went in camera to hear the details. Poirer, 38, admitted mailing the secrets to a Labour MP last year but he pleaded innocent, arguing that his loyalty to Parliament preceded his loyalty to Margaret Thatcher's government. A decision is expected this week.

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Cape Breton's desperate struggle

By Parker Donham

On Cape Breton's fringes, near the river, 10 km north of Sydney, Glace Bay Mayor Bruce Clark had just settled in for an afternoon of rest fishing with his well-earned trout last week when a crisis befell him from the river bank. "Mr. Mayor," the local resident shouted, "we just got a call that there's a bad fire at the wharf." Speeding back to Glace Bay, Clark wondered just how many disasters could befall his hard-luck town. Two months earlier he'd destroyed

in No. 26 Colliery, itself last Saturday his 28-year-old wife, Brenda, worked as a trimmer at Highland Fisheries. Michael's \$215-a-week union (player) benefit expires on April 5, Brenda's \$88-a-week benefit runs out on June 1. "I have a big mortgage, and the bank expects me to pay it every month," he said. "When my claim runs out in April, I am not going to be able to pay it. I am going to be lucky to keep my kids in clothes and food."

Local politicians indicate Statistics Canada's estimate that 22,000 Cape Bre-



Highland Fisheries fire: a nest of disasters, swelling jobless ranks and uncertainty

the Bay's No. 26 Colliery, killing one and maiming and throwing 1,277 others out of work in a community of 21,400, where the unemployment rate is 30 per cent.

On Cape Breton Island, where basic industries are run-down industrial towns, discouraged workers see little future for themselves or their families. The Sydney Steel Corp., Sydney's provincially owned steel plant which employed 4,000 once a decade ago, has only 1,455 workers. Coal mine employment, which once topped 25,000, had slumped to 4,200 even before the No. 26 fire. Chronic wage losses and falling oil prices, which depress prices for other fuels such as coal, delay the opening of new mines. As well, the market failure of Canada's nuclear reaction has put in jeopardy 419 highly paid jobs at heavy water plants in Glace Bay and Point Tupper.

Until last April, 30-year-old Michael Southwell, for one, worked as a machine-

operator out of work in December. In the same month, they paid out 34,428 Cape Bretoners were registered at Canada Manpower Centres. "It drains me to talk with these people," said Cape Breton's Sydney Liberal M.P. Russell MacLellan. "I am young, coupled with two or three children, living with his parents or her parents, and the whole family is living on the grandparent's pension cheque—that is a very common situation here now."

The job list in the Highland Fisheries fire will be difficult to replace. Deputy president René Cadogan says to rebuild the burned-out plant, but because insurance covered only part of the loss, he says he will need government help with the estimated \$60-million reconstruction bill. The Conservative government in both Ottawa and Nova Scotia are expected to act outside their private-enterprise ideologies to help finance the reconstruction, but with mod-

ern equipment installed the new plant will employ fewer workers.

Helping Cape Breton's heavy water plant will be more difficult for the federal Tories, who have often demanded money-losing Crown corporations. Last year the two plants produced 423 tons of heavy water—used in the nuclear reaction process in Canada—at a cost of \$384.7 million. But because Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. has not sold a Candi reactor since 1982, the heavy water was added to a stockpile that now totals 1,540 tons, enough to supply three reactors indefinitely. Two years ago atomic research was being shut down, but Deputy Prime Minister Allan Rock, whose riding encompasses the plant at Point Tupper, persuaded cabinet to keep them open. Last November the new Conservative energy minister, Patricia Carney, pledged not to close the plants until alternative employment could be found for their employees.

Cape Breton's coal mines present Regional Industrial Expansion Minister Sinclair Stevens with similar hard choices. Outlined from the Cape Breton Development Corp.'s (CBDC) two remaining collieries roughly matches the coal needs of the Nova Scotia Power Corp., a provincially owned power utility. But losses at the mines have been heavy, and rising energy prices have raised doubts among miners about whether there will be a market for three new mines currently under construction or on the drawing boards.

Although the drop in oil prices may make it temporary, CBDC's changing the pace of two projects to develop liquid fuels from Cape Breton coal, which are separate from the other mine projects. One project by Scotia-Sydney, a consortium headed by former Liberal cabinet minister Alexander Graham, is developing a chemical process to turn coal into light transportation and heating oil. At the same time, Petro-Canada has developed a pilot project to produce Carbopol, a mixture of coal powder and water that can be used as fuel. The commercial success of both projects is crucial to the opening of new coal mines.

Conservative M.L.A. Lawrence O'Sullivan, who was MacLellan's Cape Breton Highland Cans was last year, says that he increasingly realistic Cape Breton public understands that heavy water plants cannot go on forever producing unwanted heavy water at a cost of \$125 million a year. But, added O'Sullivan, "It is a task to come up with something that works. What we know is that the practices of the past do not work."

The markets' stunning rally

By Ann Walmsley

On the floor of the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSX) the heavy and steady left over veteran traders resting. In the offices of Canadian brokers, however, the mood of trading phones and a flood of investors working in the off the street signals that an extraordinary buying spree was underway. Indeed, by last week a month-long rise in major North American stock markets turned into an explosion. First, the Dow Jones Industrial Average on the New York Stock Exchange dashed Wall Street when it closed at a historic high of 2,893.62 points. Then, the following day the market's composite index of 300 stocks rose 23.96 points to close at an unprecedented 2,917.64. Declared Thomas McGowan, a senior vice president for Montreal-based "Investment Services" in Toronto, "It's not like a chance to look at the clock." Added Glen Moore, a vice-president of Melville Young Wer Ltd. in Toronto, "Things have been wild. I have been trying to cool people off."

Analysis says that last week's stock performance is the start of the long-awaited "second leg" of the bull market that began in August, 1982, then paused last year. Early in January, buoyancy returned to most major markets across the world, pushing investors in Britain, France and West Germany to new heights. Last week, the trend swept North American markets from Vancouver to Montreal and New York. Expectations for the investor euphoria ranged from the serious to the superficial. Many analysts, including the U.S. "Barron's" stock indicator, "which holds that a bull market will follow when a team from the original U.S. National Football League beats the American League opponent in the January season," as did the San Francisco Chronicle this year. Markets here also pressure stock gains in years away from the number five.

But other experts offer more tangible explanations. By last week, a resurgence of interest in the stock market, noted after January stock prices tend to move above December levels. At year-end, he explained, investors sell a flood of stocks at a loss to help reduce their income tax. Other brokers and analysts claim that the most important factor in last week's upturn were reports of a strengthening economy. Two weeks ago the Conference Board of Canada revealed that in 1984 the inflation rate had dropped to an average 4.4 per cent—a 13-year low—and a projected annual rate of only 3.5 per cent in 1985. That



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prediction gained credibility when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries agreed to cut oil prices because of sluggish demand for crude.

At the same time, the price leading rates of chartered tankers have declined steadily to 11 per cent from 13.5 per cent last July. As a result, most economists no longer fear that Canada and the United States might fall back into recession in 1983. Carl Benz, an economist with Toronto-based Dominion Securities (Miffield Ltd), predicted that Canada's economy will grow by around three per cent in 1983. Confused Robert Stibbe, research manager with Midland Deloitte Ltd of Toronto: "We are not slipping back into a recession, and the removal of this fear has given investors courage."

Institutional investors from pension to investment funds were the first to plunge into the current stock choppy scene. The TSX reported 900 block trades (each at least 2,000 shares and worth at least \$50,000) last Wednesday—the second highest block volume ever. Buying activity centred on blue-chip stocks such as Canadian Pacific Ltd., which rose \$2.13 to \$57.35, and Alcan Steel Corp. Ltd., which went up \$1.42 to \$34.90.

Experts also credit last week's upsurge to the return of many small investors to the market after an absence of nearly a year. Explained Dominion's Benz: "There are a lot of people who do not want to be left out in this upsurge." In 1982 individuals accounted for only about 40 per cent of trading activity. After last week, Stibbe estimates they could now again represent 60 per cent of the market as they did during a bull market in the 1960s. Many were sophisticated players who had been watching the market for months and had at least \$5,000 to \$10,000 to spend. Like the pension fund and institutional investors, individuals avoided speculative junior stocks and purchased high-quality shares, according to Harold Clifford, an assistant vice-president at Merrill Lynch. Said one 30-year-old investor who in January doubled a \$140,000 investment: "I am excited because the market is hitting new highs."

All week's end, profit-taking and a wave of nervousness over a possible interest-rate rise caused the Dow to drop by 9.96 points and the TSX to fall by 20.5 points. But most analysts retained their belief in the stamina of the bull market. And optimists predicted that a year-long rally may have begun. Said Stibbe: "There is a strong possibility the market will top 3,000 sometime this year." Added Merrill Lynch vice-president Smith: "The saying is, 'No goes January, so goes the year.'"

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OPEC faces a fragile future

I was the latest sign that the semi-annual Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is becoming increasingly important in the face of a waning world demand for oil. When OPEC ministers emerged from a five-day three-day meeting in Geneva last week, they announced that for the second time in its history the 13-member cartel had bowed to market pressures and set the official price of Saudi light crude at \$28 a barrel from \$28. Other heavier grades, they said, would also be cut in price. But the decision was far from unanimous. Algeria, Iran, Libya and Gabon refused to ratify the agreement on pricing, and experts expect them to undercut the new rates and surpass their cartel-set production quotas. Said Hans Maerz, technical director of the Canadian Petroleum Association in Calgary: "With the soft market that we have now, it is difficult to have the group march to the same drum."



Yassir Arafat, president of the PLO, is being held by Israeli forces.

present a further official price drop. But a series of stop-gap measures, including a decision by the 10-year-old cartel last year to cap its total production quota to 35 million barrels a day from 17.5 million, have been largely ineffective. For the past year Saudi oil minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani has continued to forecast that demand for oil will increase as Western economies recover from the recession. But so far he has been proven wrong. Although there has been some improvement in industrial output worldwide, the market for oil has remained soft as maverick cartel members openly cheated on their allotted production quotas and cut prices.

There is also no indication that a slide in oil prices on world spot markets, where oil is traded below government-set official prices, has slowed down. British producers in the North Sea are already selling oil on the spot markets at about \$27 a barrel—causing alarm in cartel-member Algeria, whose competing crude now has an official price of \$28.45 a barrel. Leading the slide is high-quality Texas crude, selling for as little as \$20 a barrel. Maerz predicted that all prices will fall again within a month unless economic activity picks up significantly in consuming countries.

If the projections are accurate, there will be increased pressure on cartel members to break ranks and further slash their prices. Last October, Nigeria openly broke with the cartel when it dropped the price of its crude by \$5 to \$28 a barrel following similar cuts by North Sea producers. Further price cuts by Britain or Norway in the coming weeks could prompt the African oil producer to make more reductions. Nigerian oil minister Tan David-West said the OPEC meeting last week that his country's attention will be on the North Sea. "At the same time, experts say that the members who dissented from last week's vote will continue to ignore OPEC's pricing and production levels. And even noncartel members such as Ecuador, which is currently suspending its output quota by 38 per cent, may continue to undermine the cartel.

Last week Yamani stressed claims that OPEC has lost its power. He admitted that the organization's longer discussions of pricing had been useful, but that it can prevent a major price slide by adhering to its production quotas. Analysts agreed that a restriction in output would be effective in slowing a price slide, but one expert from Yamani's awarded, considered the cartel's ability to bring its maverick members into line. And if the cheating on quotas continues, declared John Lichtblau, president of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation in New York City, "there is no future for OPEC." —PATRICIA BLUMBERG with Janet Crawford on Geneva.

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Toward a trade enhancement pact

By Peter C. Newman

Being a Conservative in Canada has always been tough. Liberals are lucky because they carry the ideological baggage, having successfully been on every side of every major issue since Confederation. But the Tory stereotypes—right-wing, anti-French and pro-business—endure.

That was why Pierre Trudeau could impose bilingual policies as he would have dared champions, and that is mainly what the current unpopularity debate is about, as matters here vehemently Brian Mulroney protests he is just trying to get money to the people who really need it, his governments tinkering with family allowances is interpreted as an attack on the whole welfare system.

The most recent example of this phenomenon is the debate that followed last week's publication by International Trade Minister Jean Charest of a discussion paper on the future direction of our trade with the United States. Reactions immediately polarized into like-warm support or violent opposition to his most arduous proposition, the idea of a North American Free Trade Area.

To either praise or condemn the government on this black or white issue betrays a misunderstanding of how Ottawa's current administration works. As usual, Mulroney has come down on the pragmatic (rather than the doctrinaire) side of the issue, relying on the day-to-day politics of the situation instead of some overall philosophy as guide to his action.

Certainly, the sectoral approach to free trade that so enthralled the Trudeau government has been rejected as unworkable. The talk that had already started on free exchange of steel, manufacturing equipment and computer services were allowed to pass the hurdle of the Sept. 1 election. The major lesson was that for every sectoral gain we might have made we would have had to give up a whole range of activities in other parts of the economy. The trade-offs were too rough on both sides of the border.

Because the Tokyo round of trade talks held in 1979 will already reach its 15 per cent of manufactured goods moving from Canada to the United States as tariff-free, the issue is far removed from the time it caused the overwhelming defeat of the 85% William Lester and his review platform in 1981. Despite the Mulroney government's how toward free trade as a desirable but unrealistic

able objective, its real policy intention can be deduced from reading between the lines of the Kellogg document.

The Mulroney government perceives the real problem as the sorry state of Canada's international competitiveness. Some 26 per cent of our gross national product (and three million jobs) depends on exports for every extra \$1 billion of goods sent out of the country, an estimated 26,000 new jobs are created. At the moment, our \$100-billion two-way trade with the United States



Kellogg negotiating special status

occupies far too great a proportion of that total, and the Mulroney government's first priority is to diversify the size and number of customers for Canadian goods (A 6.6 per cent of that initiative will be to secure new offshore and domestic to run Ottawa's Export Development Corp., redefining that important agency's terms of reference from its ties with modern business practices).

What Mulroney and his ministers fear most is a rising wave of protection-

ism across the free world, but more particularly in the United States, that would freeze Canadian exports out of their most profitable markets. A look at the horrendous state of the U.S. trade balance (a deficit of \$120 billion [U.S.] in 1984) and the changing nature of the U.S. political scene indicates just how vulnerable we are. Despite Ronald Reagan's extravagant election promises, the U.S. economy is slowing down as that the nearly seven per cent real growth of the past year will probably not be repeated. Second-term presidents become less likely to support

No matter how easy Mulroney and Reagan may become during the Shamrock Special in Quebec City, it is highly unlikely that a year or two from now Reagan would utilize his executive authority to intervene in trade negotiations on Canada's behalf. At the same time, the few members of the Republican administration who support trade liberalization, such as George Shultz and William Brock, are bound to depart, leaving as vulnerable to their hand-shake successors. Before this year is out, American politicians will start their re-election campaigns for 1986, and reality-consciousness will have a hard time believing what by then could be an over-whelming protectionist trend.

The Mulroney government's strategy—and Kellogg's real message—is to negotiate a trade enhancement pact with the United States which will come nowhere near free trade. It is hoped that obtaining some form of special status for Canada will exempt us from future American trade and investment barriers. Too often in the past, Canadian exporters have been squeezed by measures aimed at other, cheap labor markets abroad.

The issue that has yet to be joined is how deeply any free-trade arrangement would affect Canadian sovereignty. As economic nations become less open, national considerations and the decision-making process in fiscal matters flows south of the border, it would become increasingly difficult for any sector of Canadian society to act on its own. This could make it difficult for public and private agencies in every area of concern to act on the basis of strictly Canadian interests. We would become, unacceptably but inevitably, the 52nd state within the American galaxy. The fact is that while debate is negotiable. As Kellogg comments in his discussion paper, "There is no risk-free option, including the status quo."



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New questions about the baby deaths

By Shana McKay

It has become—and it likely is to remain—the murder case that will not die. Ontario Superior Court Justice Russell Grange probed the mystery during 181 days of testimony beginning in June, 1983, and a further three months of deliberation before he released his 365-page report last month on the deaths of 36 babies at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto between June, 1980, and March, 1981. Grange concluded that someone had killed eight babies by administering overdoses of digoxin, a drug used to control irregular heart rates. Grange also found that 13 other deaths were either "highly suspicious" or "suspectious." But police have held no new charges of murder since the case against nurse Susan Smith, originally accused of murdering four of the babies, was dismissed in May, 1982. Last week, when the hearing's transcripts became public, police announced that they had assigned three officers to review the case. But a substantial group of scientists, doctors and nurses continues to question Grange's conclusions. They say that the scientific data on which they were based is not dependable enough to prove that anyone killed the babies.

Grange's error was that the testing for digoxin was inadequate and that new studies indicate some of the methods used to detect the drugs are unreliable. Declared James Russell, a professor in the department of surgery at the University of Alberta, in Edmonton: "The conclusions are outrageous. There is no scientific evidence that proves anyone was convicted." Added Russell, who has worked as a researcher in the field of clinical chemistry for 17 years: "It is entirely possible that some of the babies died from digoxin poisoning."

During the period of the baby deaths the standard laboratory technique used to determine the amount of digoxin in a patient's blood was a process known as radioimmunoassay (RIA). That testing method depends upon the interaction between special proteins and digoxin to detect the drug and measure the amount in the sample being checked. Using RIA's a technician confirms a patient's blood or urine sample with actual antibodies known to bind with digoxin molecules. Then, if the first test detects digoxin, the technician checks the sample of substances similar to digoxin which could raise the actual reading produced. This second process is known as Thin Layer Liquid Chromatography (TLC).

The Centre of Forensic Sciences in Toronto used both methods to test blood and tissue taken from 21 of the 36 babies who died. And Grange concluded that the results of these tests "went a long way to satisfying" him that murder had

been 26 substances found naturally in the body, including such hormones as cortisone and progesterone. Solids added that the compounds which gave "digoxin-like" readings never reached the high level found in the blood and tissue



Solids indicated that elevated levels confused digoxin with other compounds.

been committed—with digoxin as the fatal drug. Grange and he found it significant that the size and type tests had not only detected high levels of digoxin in several of the babies but also indicated the presence of the drug in the bodies of four other infants who were not supposed to have been given it.

But some scientists argue that both methods sometimes mistake other compounds for digoxin. Dr. David Reusch, a biochemist at the Hospital for Sick Children and one of the country's leading experts in digoxin research, for one, says that the test results are not always reliable. In October, 1984, Solids published a paper in the professional journal *Chemical Pharmacology* entitled, "Are Immunoassays for Digoxin Reliable?" His conclusion: they were not. The paper described a series of experiments beginning in July, 1983, by Solids and a team of researchers at the hospital. They discovered that RIA tests could not clearly distinguish between digoxin and more

samples of the babies who died at the hospital. It was for that reason that Grange rejected his evidence.

Other experts also question the validity of the standard tests. Dr. David Reusch, a medical biochemist at Vancouver's St. Mary's Hospital, has conducted experiments on a daily basis since 1982 analyzing the blood from newborn children and pregnant mothers. He has found that his tests can label at least six non-digoxin compounds as digoxin. Said Reusch: "With the commonly used system of testing we cannot separate digoxin from digoxin-like substances. With our state of knowledge I do not think that you can conclude that what they found was digoxin."

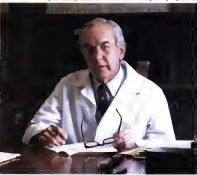
But Douglas Latta, the director of the Centre of Forensic Sciences, rejects that belief. Said Latta: "Part of the criticism after the Grange report was released came from the fact that those scientists argued that RIA tests could not clearly distinguish between digoxin and more

looked at it who was considered an expert concluded that the testing method was state of the art."

Such scientists as Solids and Reusch insist that the controversy could have been avoided if investigators had relied exclusively on Mass Spectrometry (MS), a more specific method of testing. In that test, molecules in blood or tissue are broken down (usually by electrons), causing them to fragment. Technicians can then positively identify specific molecules by their fragmentation.

After after a panel of 10 experts in the field told him that the Forensic Sciences Centre's methods of testing (RIA and TLC) produced the best and most reliable results. As a result, he ruled that further testing using MS would be unproductive.

But Catherine Costello, a member of the panel that advised Grange on the usefulness of further testing, said the panel's objection to MS was not that it was not accurate or that it could not be performed but that by the spring of 1984



Mass Spec: The high-ups here just did not accept his criteria that scientists assumed.

there were no reliable tissue samples from the dead babies available. Said Costello: "It had been done at the time of the deaths, they would have had an open-and-shut case." She further criticized the quality of tests

Baron: death at night



that were done. Said Costello, assistant director at the Mass Spectrometry Facility at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge: "The tests were inconclusive. In one case, the spectrum produced was of such poor quality that it was impossible to say whether digoxin was present or not. In the other case, there was only a partial spectrum scanned. The people doing the testing did not appear to know much about mass spectrometry."

"But Latta said: 'We did not regret them to be good spectrum, but that was because of the quality of the samples. They were done by highly qualified mass spectrometrist'."

Dr. Peter Macklin, physician in chief of Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, has also criticized the Grange report's use of criteria based on levels of digoxin in blood and tissue. He has known babies, declared Macklin: "Nobody really knows whether or not digoxin builds up in the body after death. There have been no animal studies with which to compare the results. The legal system just did not accept the criteria that scientists demand."

Macklin first publicly entered the controversy over digoxin levels in September, 1984, when he spoke to a meeting of the Canadian Society for Clinical Investigation in Montreal. His argument was both dramatic and modest: only by enhancing a control group of babies who had not died of digoxin overdoses could scientists expect to reach an accurate conclusion. He made the same point before the inquiry last September but concluded that his suggestions were impractical for ethical reasons.

Critics have also objected to the significance placed on the times of the deaths. Said Dr. Albert Burton, a biochemist at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver: "Twenty-five of the 36 deaths occurred between 1 a.m. and 5 a.m. This fact fits in less with the theory of murder in the night than it does with biological factors. At night, an important hormone, regulates a great many body functions, and it falls to a low ebb during the night. At this time, the body's resistance is lowest and its vulnerability highest."

The criticism of the Grange inquiry conclusion is mirrored by the nurses who worked on the babies on wards 4A and 4B during the time the babies died. Said David French, president of the Registered Nurses Association of Toronto, speaking for the nurses: "We are not at all satisfied with the Grange report. A variety of experts testified as to how digoxin works on the body. Grange acknowledged some and disregarded others. There is no question that there is a sense of bitterness."

For at all said, Grange has refused any further comment on the inquiry. But the reaction from the nurses has brought its own criticism. Said Paul Lusk, secretary for the Grange inquiry: "How do they explain that [the deaths] happened on ward 4A and 4B? They happened at the same time of night? Yes, for some, other questions remain. Added Solids: "All the possibilities that were present before the Grange inquiry still exist today. The book has been played prematurely."

PHIL MESSNER/CHARTER IN MONTREAL



Maizee ritual, depictions, pictures, protests and a wall for loggers with chachauwe

ENVIRONMENT

A war over a rain forest

About 225 environmentalists and Indians went to a picnic on British Columbia's Maizee Island last week. But the reason for the gathering was much more than a desire to share a meal. The people involved met off the west coast of Vancouver Island in an attempt to prevent logging operations on the steep slopes that support one of the last untouched rain forests in the province. The protest took place after the giant forestry firm of MacMillan Bloedel (mb) was a B.C. Supreme Court injunction on Jan. 28 which prevents anyone from blocking its access to 9,000 acres on the island. And because the company has not announced when it will begin cutting there this year, 25 protesters are keeping a 24-hour vigil on the island. One is Harold Tickman, a local restaurateur, who says that he is ready to confront the loggers—and risk being found in contempt of court.

It has been embroiled in controversy since it announced plans four years ago to log the island. One of the island's main attractions is a two-acre farm known as Maizee, intended to cut one per cent of the timber there by April, 1991, and to clear 50 per cent of the wood by the year 2000. MB has made one concession to conservationists. It agreed not to cut trees visible from nearby Tofino on Vancouver Island for at least 20 years. Still, most of the 700 residents of the fishing village want the entire forest preserved as a threatened natural resource. An spokesman says that logging the island will help

to sustain 240 jobs in the industry and it has support from the powerful International Woodworkers of America, representing 30,000 forestry workers in the province.

Meanwhile, lawyers for the environmentalists and Indians are appealing the court's injunction. And the 1,300 members of the Clapnet and Ahwahai bands who regard Maizee as their ancestral home have also proved their right to the island as part of a native land claim. But because in those cases will likely come after six years, begins. Said Michael Mullin, a director of the 600-member environmental group Friends of Clapnet Sound. "We do not need to be violent. All we have to do is stand around the trees and they won't be cut." But Sharon Gosnell, president of the Maizee Tribal Council representing 6,000 Indians who support the Maizee land claims declared, "There could be a bloodbath, but we will not be responsible. We will hold the white man responsible."

Last week MacMillan Bloedel complained to the RCMP that vandals had damaged the company's survey lines on the island. Said MB spokesman William Ols. "This will not deter us from logging but it will be costly, and we will have to send in more survey crews." Loggers with chachauwe will eventually follow and, with both sides in the dispute holding their ground, a clash in the rain forest seems inevitable.

—JANE O'BRIEN in Vancouver

RELIGION

A snap call for a council

Ppope John Paul II overhauled the events of his 15-day pilgrimage to Latin America last week with a surprise announcement that all Roman Catholic bishops will meet in Rome on Nov. 26. The convocation, called an extraordinary synod, is scheduled to prepare the church for its third millennium (2,000 years), beginning in the year 2000. But the bishops will look to the past as well as to the future by renewing the Second Vatican Council—one of the most significant events in church history—and its effects. Held from 1962 until 1965, Vatican II introduced such reforms as celebrating the mass in modern languages and it urged Catholics to strive for closer ties with other Christians.

But Vatican II also sparked a debate over controversial topics like birth control and the role of women in the church. Indeed, Pope John Paul spoke against contraception last week in Caracas, Venezuela, and, shortly before beginning his tour, he reminded his followers of the ban on priests holding secular office. Similar papal pronouncements have raised concern among liberal Catholics that the pontiff will use the synod to reverse the reforms of Vatican II. But Rev. Daniel Dineen, a professor of systematic theology at St. Michael's College in Toronto, states that these fears are unfounded. Said Dineen: "The Pope is committed to Vatican II. There is no going back on it."

As the pontiff celebrated masses before millions of worshippers in Venezuela last week, it was clear that his personal migration remains undisturbed. But even as he moved through adoring throngs, the Vatican was striving to curb its authority over adherents of liberation theology—a doctrine which many Latin American priests embrace. It emphasizes the church's duty to fight for the rights of the poor and oppressed. Pope John Paul, however, objects to its followers' frequent reliance on Marxist analysis and active participation in revolutionary movements. He has ordered four priests serving in the Nicaraguan government to resign within 15 days or face suspension. But the priests have defied the demands, saying that they could prefer to leave the country. And no matter who wins that particular power struggle, the dispute symbolizes a division in the church which is likely to emerge again at the November synod. —CR JAMESON

HEALTH

Victims of vaccination

Seven-year-old Steven, of Oakville, Ont., was 2½ months old when he received his first routine vaccination against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio. Two weeks later he experienced convulsions that left his right arm and left leg twitching uncontrollably. But doctors at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children named Steven's parents, William and Wendy Ventres, that the vaccination was not to blame. Still, after three more vaccinations Steven's condition worsened. And last May, when the Ventres took their son to the Spina Clinic in Philadelphia—a world specialist in therapy for brain-damaged patients—the doctors immediately diagnosed the whooping cough component of the vaccine.

Steven is now 2½, and he suffers from permanent brain damage. His mental age is five months and he can barely sit up. His 36-year-old mother is expecting another child in mid-February and she says she is certain of one thing: "This baby will not get any needles."

In making that decision Wendy Ventres joined a rapidly growing number of Canadians who oppose vaccines because of the risk of debilitating side effects. In Ontario a 1982 law that made vaccination compulsory for school-age children inspired concerned parents to create the Committee Against Compulsory Vaccination. Although public protest led the province last December to permit exemptions to the law, committee member Edie Goldman of Toronto, a mother for nine children, says the group's 370 members, and about 18 times as many supporters, will remain active. Goldman became involved when her daughter contracted measles after a vaccination shot Goldman. "After what I saw happen to my daughter, I would rather take my chances with the disease."

In the United States the problem is particularly acute. There, the issue has been dramatized by recent court awards ranging from \$150,000 to more than \$1 million to victims of crippling brain or nerve damage caused by some flu, polio and whooping cough vaccines. Because of the soaring legal costs and insurance rates rising from the lawsuits, one of the three U.S. manufacturers of whooping cough vaccine has halted production, and the Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control predicted last December that a severe shortage of the vaccine this year could lead to an epidemic. For their part, medical doctors acknowledge that some vaccines entail a risk of



The Ventres family: no more needles

permanent brain damage, although many consider that unvaccinated children face a far greater risk of contracting serious diseases. Over 100,000 children suffer brain damage because of whooping cough vaccine, for example. The figure is one in a million and far below one in five million. Most experts contend that serious vaccination is essential to wipe out the disease. Said Harold Gold, a member of Health and Welfare Canada's national advisory committee on immunization and chief of the infectious diseases division at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children: "There is no question that it is still better to use the vaccine than to allow the disease to come."

Gold argues that some of the people who have received damages from pharmaceutical companies were not victims of vaccine side effects. He adds that true victims of vaccine damage should be entitled to redress from governments. Vaccine compensation laws already exist in many European countries and are under consideration by the U.S. Congress. Said Gold: "If a government requires, or even strongly urges, things which will prevent the public health from being at risk, then it should provide relief." But for parents—including William and Wendy Ventres—of brain-damaged children, seeking any further vaccination may seem to be the only relief. —ROBERT BLOCK

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SPAIN



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THEATRE

A soap opera from 1622

THE CHANGELING
By Thomas Middleton and
William Rowley
Directed by Guy Spragg

The classics are known for resilience—the best will graciously bend under the wildest interpretations and still yield their precious pearl of universal experience. In Toronto's Free Theatre's (re)creative production of the 1622 Jacobean tragedy *The Changeling*, director Guy Spragg has avoided headbanging and ghetto khakis but he has expanded Middleton and Rowley's superb way to operate prophecies as an enormous set that transforms the mythos. De Flores, into a Hunchback of Notre Dame. Although Spragg's vision downplays the subplot, as balance his revision is visceral and satisfying.

The Changeling is a daring experiment in the chemistry of emotional extremes. On the eve of her marriage to Alonso, the pure and beautiful aristocrat Beatrice-Joanna (Rosemary Dunsmuir) and the sedulous Alonzo (Peter Donnelly) suddenly fall in love. Apparently without consequence, Beatrice meets her father's disfigured manservant, De Flores (R.H. Thomson), when she leaves, to left her fiancé. When he does and demands sexual favors in return, she grimly yields. Last quickly grows, De Flores seduces her, and the affair continues behind the back of her new betrothed, Alonzo. When Alonso's brother (Richard Dinnick), a black-caped stranger, tracks the lovers down, De Flores stabs Beatrice to death and ditches his own life.

The sheer power of the lovers' passion makes them noble figures despite their evil actions, and their deaths are tragic. Indeed, the play's subtext focuses on excessive behavior bordering on madness speaks strongly to 20th-century audiences. Although Beatrice's transformation makes no rational sense, the characters in *The Changeling* obey the more primitive code of passion. Making her shift plausible is a difficult task, but Dunsmuir's finely shaded performance conveys the conflict in the heroine between subconscious and conscience.

Traditional stagings of the subtle mid-17th-century comedy focus on the character's double life with feigning, oppressive sets and an exaggerated acting style. Spragg spends out the action into every available niche on the towering set. As a result, there is a poignant-like quality to his stunning portraits—spe-

cifically when De Flores murders Alonso, chaps off one of his fingers to steal a ring and, like a jester with a knife, swings the corpse around the battlements. Spragg has allowed his conflict that great freedom to explore the extraordinary psychology of their roles. Thomson in particular has assembled subtly ingenuities for a demonic villain—a slouching limp, ear droopy eyelid and a hasty, almost affected voice. But from those an expressive trust he concocted misadventures which's brew of tormented humor and psychotic rage. In addition, John Mills-Cockell's pervasive synthesizer score, ranging from the sort of muted organ notes that grace television soap to mournful cries of pain, complements the scenes well.

Middleton and Rowley also give their narrative a parallel structure—a formal subplot set in a laudable style. These sequences are full of splendid scenes—especially Alonzo's as a busy doctor and then McGowan as a nobleman who fulfills madmen in order to seduce the doctor's wife. But Spragg's panoramic staging isolates them, as if they were a moral mirror in the central story. Still, the splendid production never flags, and the cast delivers the jagged, volatile verse with the care and conviction that every great classic deserves.

—MARK CRABTREE



Thomson, a palpable hit in a bloodbath

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Waiting for Godfather III

THE SICKMAN

By Mario Puzo

Nelson Publishing, £20 paper, \$25.95

The Sicilian, Mario Puzo's new update to his chronicles of the Mafia, is like the first draft of a screenplay—*Godfather IV*. It is as hot and glossy as *The Godfather*, the 1969 novel that led to his award-winning career as the screen scribe of his own work. Once again, Puzo views the world through a mist of blood, but his vision of lawlessness always overlooking social order is not as compelling as in past works.

The Sicilian picks up in the middle of *The Godfather's* plot, in the late 1950s, when the Corleone clan has sent young Michael to Sicily after he murders a New York police captain. The American army has just left Sicily, having restored "democracy" and, with it, the Mafia, which detester Benito Mussolini had almost succeeded in eliminating. Soon Michael will be able to return home. But first his father—the Godfather, Don Vito Corleone—has commanded him to resume Sicily's greatest banishment, Salvatore Giuliano, from the Sicilian's enemies who are closing in. Michael's role in the book is merely to observe Giuliano's Robin Hood life, which has caused all the island's vested interests to rally against him, including Sicily's top mafioso, the Capo di Capri himself, Don Croce.



Puzo: no politics for the good man

Puzo's perspective on the banishment Giuliano displays the fervor of an outraged social worker: what boy will not go wrong, the author implies, when life treats him so badly? Yet, as his family tells him, treated and treated for coffee and respectability, but his life is derided when he is caught stealing a couple of chickens—a crime that almost every Sicilian committed in the black-market days after the Second World War. The Sicilian, or, for brief police, about Giuliano. His shorts look and like one of these—an action that outlaws him forever. The first fragments of Sicily may be lessons but the underlying idea is blood money. The police are as corrupt as the peasants they hunt. An

Puzo's fascination with Mafia violence is understandable. But his reluctance, or inability, to fulfill his reaction into an absorbing critique of mob violence and the kind of society that spawned them ultimately renders *The Sicilian* only slightly more gripping than a news agency report. Like the Mafia itself, the book despises everything that smacks of weakness—that is to say, compassion, imagination, love, generosity, freedom and the ability to be a good loser. Before embarking on another celebration of the Mob, Puzo could have considered its cardinal rule—omertà, or silence. —GREG MALLORY

outraged Turin acts off on a crusade to free the poor from the all-pervasive corruption, by ransacking prisons and ridding churches—and inevitably running afoul of Don Croce. He leaves that beauty and truth means nothing compared to the attractions of power for unprincipled people.

Puzo couls at descriptions of bonds with blood congealing on their shirts, but his approach to character development and overall story are intact. Even his description of the landscape is macho Palermo, that indolently elegant city, is described as "highly efficient," women are good cooks and men warriors and spend their time having their clothes hems off—or else sobbing over the body of a man.

Wild cards in Wonderland

THE SUMMER TREES

By Gray Gervail Kay
McClintock and Stewart,
303 pages, \$20.50

Gray Gervail Kay entered the enchanted in one circle of fantasy in 1974 when the Toronto writer assisted Christopher Tolkien in the editorial preparation of his father's *The Silmarillion*, the unfinished, posthumously published "prequel" to J.R.R. Tolkien's second-and-surest classic, *The Lord of the Rings*. Kay went on to receive numerous awards—admission to the Ontario Bar in 1981 and a position as principal writer for *The Sons of Justice*, a CBC radio drama series about unusual cases in Canadian law. But the realm of deities and wizards continued to beckon, finally prompting Kay to write *The Summer Trees*, his first novel and part of a planned trilogy entitled *The Plover's Tapestry*.

Unlike Tolkien's Middle Earth, Plover is a mythical kingdom whose destiny depends upon five students from the University of Toronto. After they cross the veil with a bewitched imagination, magical life flickers to a dim memory when a renegade god seeks revenge against descendants of the rulers who imprisoned him 1,000 years earlier. The students are soon thrust into new roles as soldiers and prophets alongside Plover's defenders.

Kay's writing echoes the stunner condescension that distinguished Tolkien's work from the sugary enchantment of so many other fantasy tales. As the students are drawn into the struggle against evil, they have to master the shifting ground rules of a magical world where one wrong move will kill them. Kay highlights the gulf between his heroes and their bizarre setting with a highly adaptable narrative style—a stately, almost tilted dialogue for Plover's natives ("This is a bright cloud as looked-for") contrasted to colloquial speech for the newcomers ("You're back, you know, really good to see here").

In the end, *The Summer Trees* fails to satisfy completely because it functions as an elaborate preface to the next two installments rather than standing as a complete novel in its own right. Kay has done little more than to introduce the characters, survey the terrain and outline Plover's complicated history. Still, he has done that well enough to make the reader believe *The Plover's Tapestry* may well fulfill its first promise.

—HEIDI MCKENNA



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LIVING

A foamy new fad for hair

Mousse, the hair-care product with the same name as a dessert, has taken a firm, but manageable—hold an indispensable tonic across North America. L'Oréal of France, a giant health and beauty products company, invested five years in research and development of a product that would keep hair in place without stiffness or stickiness. The result, mousse (French for "foam"), was an almost instant hit in Europe in 1982. Then, 18 months ago, Canadian and U.S. hairdressers began rubbing up to 36 varieties (including chocolate color for brunettes) of mousse onto the heads of male and female customers. Promoted as ideal for the new-fashonable shorter, sculptured hair-styles, the most successful new hair product since hair spray is also a source of healthy profits. In 1988, just before mousse took hold, the Canadian market in hair lotions, conditioners and gels was worth \$56 million. For his part, John Wanning, sales and marketing director of Borden Professional Products Inc. in Oakville, Ont., said that mousse sales alone—at \$4 a can—in 1984 exceeded \$10 million.

Chemically, the secret of mousse's success is the combination of two carbonated molecules, one to soften hair and another to hold styles in place. Said Ann Harrison, president of the Hairdressers' Association of British Columbia: "Just for hair to have more body to stand up for a fashion look, you need moisture or gels. Mousse is lighter, not sticky."

The dramatic mousse success has also provided benefits for Advanced Extrusions Ltd., a Toronto aluminum container manufacturer. The reason mousse overtook conventional steel cans and must be sold in more expensive aluminum containers. Advanced Extrusions, the only Canadian company equipped to supply the domestic market with leak-proof aerosol containers, also makes 48 per cent of the cans used in the \$250-million U.S. mousse market. Company spokesmen refused to say how many cans they sold last year, but the Toronto firm will install a fourth \$3.5-million production line at its Penetanguishene plant in central Ontario this month in an attempt to meet the demand. Clearly, Advanced Extrusions, for one, is convinced that mousse sales will rise (line to parallel the current trend in hairstyles) straight up.

—DAVE SULLIVAN

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MEDICINE

A warning against ASA

It is a mysterious, frightening disease which can strike suddenly, causing excessive vomiting and eventually coma in children recovering from such viral diseases as influenza. Although only 200 cases of Reye's syndrome are reported each year in the United States and fewer than a dozen in Canada, the disease is fatal in up to 30 per cent of cases, and survivors often suffer brain damage. The precise cause of Reye's syndrome is still unknown. But a study by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta released on Jan. 11 has provided the firmest evidence yet of a link between aspirin/salicylic acid (ASA) — generally known as Aspirin in the United States, but a trademark in Canada — and the disease. Late last month, after a three-year campaign by public interest groups, U.S. manufacturers agreed to place labels on containers warning consumers not to give ASA tablets to children suffering from influenza or chicken pox. Said Dr. Joseph White, president of the Asperin Foundation in Washington, an industry lobby group: "We are doing that with as change in attitude about the science of the thing."

Said Dr. Michael Barrett, an epidemiologist at the CDC, argue that the facts are convincing. The CDC study revealed that children given ASA during bouts of flu or chicken pox were up to 25 times more likely to develop Reye's syndrome, or three not given the medicine. The report showed that 29 of 172 children studied had contracted the disease, and 26 of those had taken ASA. Said Barrett: "I don't think that it takes a huge leap of imagination to say that if we have 200 cases a year, the correlation is probably about the same."

For his part, White argued that the study was too limited in scope to produce valid conclusions. He added that the Asperin Foundation's desire to place warning labels on ASA bottles voluntarily followed pressure from U.S. Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler.

Sterling Drug Ltd. is the first Canadian ASA manufacturer to make similar commitments, and Jean Satter, a spokesman for Health and Welfare Canada, said that the department will decide on a course of action after studying the CDC report. Added Dr. Sidney Wolff, director of the Health Research Group: "The sooner people find out about this the better."

—DAVID SILVER



Jeanne Campbell, President

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TELEVISION

The animal that conquered a planet



Alfresco elephant: (above) Suzuki: a thought-provoking look at man's tenuous relationship with nonhuman life

A PLANET FOR THE TAKING
(Sat., Feb. 4 to March 27)

Few people look to television for

exhaustive or original analyses of the world's most pressing problems. Two-socket news shows at the latest occasion in the same race or the loss of yet another lake to toxic chemicals are the best the medium usually offers—and such assessments only tend to entrench viewers' hopes that anything can be done to salvage mankind's precarious future. Against such a background, the CBC's new eight-part environmental series, *A Planet For the Taking*, arrives with all the startling, welcome freshness of a February thaw.

Genuinely and authoritatively narrated by the popular host of *The Nature of Things*, geologist David Suzuki, *Planet* breaks radically with the tendency of many science-oriented shows to glorify mankind's long ascent from caveman to conqueror of the moon. Instead, the hour-long shows offer a highly critical look at the assumptions that have given Western technological culture ungilded wealth and power—and led them to the brink of possible extinction. That speech could have led to tedious, over-theatrical TV programming. But *Planet*'s directors have created a series that is as beautiful and entertaining as

it is thought-provoking—a visually astounding celebration of the planet's nonhuman life and mankind's increasingly tenuous links with it.

The opening program of *Planet* strikes the sensitive issue of the virus when it argues that Western man's perceptions of nature must radically change before he inadvertently brings the earth to ecological disaster. The same problem, Suzuki claims, is that mankind is reluctant to admit its deep kinship with the natural world. According to archeologist Richard Leakey, interviewed near his base of operations in

and members shared a common ancestor. *Planet* caps its point first by showing an ape swinging gracefully through the trees and then by cutting to slow-motion footage of an Olympic gymnast frolicking on a high bar. The montage not only reveals humanity's "essence" with jelling clarity but it also moves the viewer to regard its mankind's anomaly. *Planet* brims with such moments of visual poetry, which turn abstract intellectual argument into visceral experience.

The denial of humanity's connection with other animals reaches its most

dangerous extreme. *Planet* claims, an advanced Western culture after all, it is not the barbarians of Australia with their primitive, inhumanistic religions who are threatening the world with nuclear destruction. Throughout the series Suzuki gently points out that the rational, scientific point of view common in the West grants unparalleled power over nature, but it is singularly lacking in wisdom when it comes to establishing a sane and non-



liking relationships with nature.

Planet opens a great deal of time in foreign cultures. These excursions not only contribute to the series' great visual richness but also illustrate its central tenet: that the varieties of human experience contain many lessons for so-called "advanced" societies. In some of his recent footage, *Planet* follows a Hindu religious festival in India, where thousands of people take part in a symbolic journey between the gods and the chaotic powers of nature. To the purity of nature, such ceremonies are sometimes necessary. But a close look at the faces of the celebrants reveals a profound happiness—a recharging of the psychic batteries—as they reaffirm their relationship with the forces that sustain human life.

While some religions do reaffirm humanity's links to the natural world, Braudt points out that the Judeo-Christian tradition (it's marked) is a dominant position which has fostered both science and Western society's belief in its (it's given) right to do what it wants with the earth—and deem the consequences. Several of *Planet's* instruments deal with that cultural amnesia.

Planet's critique of Western destruction covers an extraordinary amount of ground. One program documents itself largely to the logging hazards faced by their animal roots and shows how that nostalgia takes a corrupt form in Mickey Mouse-style sentimentalism as Disney hypocritically shifts during a Disney-world parade. There are no longer animals, there are re-created "animals." Another program rages the provocative notion that machines and computers are dehumanizing the human race—turning it into a docile herd. The film's treatment of *Planet* visits a Kansas funeral in Madagascar and attempts to show how Western society's fear of death has led it to spend billions of dollars on life-prolonging technology. And the final program features a number of distinguished experts, including paleontologist Robert Jay Lifson and Nobel Prize-winning biologist Francisco Jacobo, who warn that people expect far too much from science and expect them to find their way out of the problems technology has created.

Naturally, such a wide-ranging appearance raises far more questions than it can hope to answer. And countless movie viewers will take offense at *Planet's* agenda on species extinction and the vilification of radio cowboys and industrialism. Industrialism, *Planet*, the series faces up to the fundamental crisis of a beleaguered world with an exceptional amount of wit, intelligence and poetry. *A Planet For the People* is a timely encyclopedia of our times.

—JOHN BERNHARDT



A sealer and his quarry playing into the hands of the animal rights movement

The fate of the sealers

ALL THINGS BRIGHT AND BEAUTIFUL
(Directed by Michael Gornall
1991, Feb. 18)

THE several Newfoundland sealant cooperatives, as a nation, are the victim of a highly successful international publicity campaign waged by Brian Davies's International Fund for Animal Welfare. All Things Bright and Beautiful offers a close-up look at how the true and other sophisticated organizations including Greenpeace manage to alarm, persuade and bully both the public and various national governments into changing their behavior. But while it also pretends to offer an objective view of the process, *All Things Bright* reveals a determined bias in favor of the controlled harvesting of seals and other animals. Taking up the moral challenge issued by the animal rights movement, *All Things Bright* argues forcefully but unconvincingly in favor of humanity's age-old belief in the rights of dominion over earth's creatures.

The heroes of the show's polarized viewpoint are the sealers of Newfoundland's outposts, outposts and poor, they are outraged that outsiders should make pronouncements about how they make their living. Being their most, weathered faces uplaid in church, it is easy to sympathize with the film's contention that they are the innocent victims of an international ideological struggle they do not understand. By contrast, *All Things Bright* reveals Davies with

advice and malice, emphasizing his glowering "experts" around 1980 and pointing out that he is often derided in his struggles. In one of *All Things Bright's* more enlightening interviews, Davies claims that cruelty to seals and protection of the species have coincided since the mid sixties of the 1960s—though the organization frequently expressed those beliefs to the public opinion. The true's real position, Davies maintains, is that it is wrong for mankind to kill seals at all.

Showing triumphantly exposed Davies's motives, *All Things Bright* makes the sealant activists see as "urban city" with to make judgments about humanity's relationship to nature. That troubling of the appetite does the film little credit; it willfully weakens the importance of the challenge posed by those who maintain that the human race must change its fundamental attitudes toward the animal kingdom—as does the depletion of the world's resources and the possible destruction of its human populations.

More reasonably, the film also argues that harvesting seals is no worse than killing other animals—and to prove it, it includes footage showing the slaughter of cattle, dogs, pigs and even a goat. Yet those images of violent death are so vivid that they may well win converts for the animal protection movement. *All Things Bright* and *Beautiful* also aim at some highly influential targets, but in its eagerness to score halcyon it frequently shoots itself in the foot. —J.B.

FILMS

Passionate partners in love and crime

MRS. SUFFEL
(Directed by Gillian Armstrong)

ALTHOUGH saved in many respects, Gillian Armstrong's *Mrs. Suffel* has a real freshness of texture, design and pace. An audience can easily mistake its peculiarities of style with its malice, but the film soon begins to exert a rhythmic pull on the viewer that resonates long afterward.

Fixed in and around Elms and Kleinburg, Ont. (Although Armstrong evens out the dark lighting, most of the images are well-crafted and hypnotic, and the contrast between the family life interiors and the bright, snowy landscapes are visually compelling.)

What gives the movie its novelty in its treatment of evilness is its slow, herring and reformed and its refusal to tell either a conventional love story or a con-



Melanie Lynskey and Kristin, David Rose, Rob Horvath and images that resonate

Ree Nymagler based his script on a true story in 1902 in Pittsburgh, Kate Suffel (Diane Kruger), the wife of the Alphonse Suffel, just weeks, helps two prisoners break for murder escape from Death Row. They are the Elms brothers, Ed (Mel Gibson) and Jack (Matthew Modine), who have become local folk heroes, women, especially drawn by Ed's dark good looks, believe them innocent. And the repeated Mrs. Suffel plainly makes Ed and Jack to read their confessions to the law.

The plot is simple but the story that grows from it is multifaceted, and director Armstrong (*My Brilliant Career*) makes it with an overpowering sense of place. (The movie was shot in the actual prison in Pittsburgh, with other scenes

recreated in crime story. Ed and Kate Suffel are an unlikely romantic couple because each takes advantage of the other's weakness to get out of jail, and she wants out of the prison of Victorian morality. It is their shared desperation that binds them together and makes them, emotionally as well as physically, partners in crime. At the end they are more like the lovers in the woods than the renegade Bonnie and Clyde, they eventually, poignantly return their innocence.

Together, Gibson and Kruger give off an animal heat, and Gibson, particularly, displays reserves of deep passion he has rarely shown before. By slightly drawing his mouth, Australian Gibson sounds like a young Henry Fonda, whom, wearing working-class clothes, he also physically resembles—an impression, dark-skinned romantic ideal. It is easy to see why the nervous, middle-class Mrs. Suffel falls for him: he represents everything he isn't, competitiveness and well-learned. (Gibson's the rela-

tively boring Edward Bernhardt) is not. There is a kind of delirium in Kruger's performance as Mrs. Suffel seems to be listening on the edge of madness—but when she speaks, her grand illusion of being the victim Victorian woman falls apart. Kruger sounds too modern, and her physical mannerisms and carriage posture her as well. The script is purely at fault because it often lacks the visceral formality of the time. Nor does it provide a personal history for Mrs. Suffel to which the audience can relate.

Armstrong sidesteps both the script and Kruger with her peaking, negative technique—and because most of the action occurs in and around the prisoners' cells, that is quite a tour de force. Whether the Elms brothers (Jack automatically comes across only as a cipher) are murderers is deliberately left unclear, which adds to the film's tentative mood and style. And in such a heavily laden story, Armstrong occasionally manages a remarkably light touch. Mrs. Suffel has the casual, original grace and finally the look of a true folk hero. —LORRAINE O'TOOLE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

- Fiction**
- 1 *Strong Medicine*, Healy (1)
 - 2 *The Tollman*, Kemp and Strach (1)
 - 3 *The Fourth Protocol*, Forsyth (1)
 - 4 *The Shrike*, Peto (1)
 - 5 *Since I Was a Child*, MacNeil (1)
 - 6 *First Among Equals*, Adams (1)
 - 7 *Not Without Me*, Sargent, Fendley (1)
 - 8 *If Tomorrow Comes*, Shellen (1)
 - 9 *So Long, And Thanks For All The Fish*, Adams (1)
 - 10 *The Aquilifer Progression*, Enders (1)

- Nonfiction**
- 1 *Isadora*, Adams with Hines (1)
 - 2 *A Day in the Life of Canada*, Edith (1)
 - 3 *The Traders Inside Canada's Stock Markets*, Ross (1)
 - 4 *The Proud Land*, Brown (1)
 - 5 *What They Don't Teach You At Harvard Business School*, McConnell (1)
 - 6 *Sea of Shanghai*, Moss (1)
 - 7 *Gravely*, Gravelly and Taylor (1)
 - 8 *Living Like Her*, Edwards (1)
 - 9 *Tapes, A Bookish Story*, Williams (1)
 - 10 *Public House Private Good*, Good and Good (1)
 - 11 *Passion for Work*

Fitting provincial personalities

By Allan Fotheringham

We are indebted to the most pious province of all to illustrate a little remembered lesson about this country. It is that it really is a collection of regions in search of a nationality. Canada is 10 independent personalities, united only by a common slogan of Ottawa. The shooting of a millionaire former car dealer as the new premier of Ontario simply reinforces the theorem. Who else could Ontario pick but Frank Miller, who likes plaid jackets, was trained as an engineer but made his money in cars and tourist resorts? Who took work in the United States but returned, who traded Quebec but was appalled, who was getting politics but changed his mind? Is this not an essentially Ontario figure? Is Frank Miller not the true inheritor of the charisma of Bill Davis, the man who defined in his entire person the origin of the word "pilot"?

The Ontario Tory party, which has been in power longer than any Conservative government in Eastern Europe (you can look it up), could have chosen Roy McMillan, the class act of the field, a lawyer who is sensitive enough to justify as a hobby, a man who would have been a senior minister in the Mulroney government if a smart lady called Barbara McGagall had not outmanoeuvred him. They could have chosen the very ambitious and very intelligent Larry Grossman, except the word Ontario (one of the party that sustains its moribund membership) is a smart lady called Barbara McGagall had not outmanoeuvred him. They could have chosen the very ambitious and very intelligent Larry Grossman, except the word Ontario (one of the party that sustains its moribund membership) is a smart lady called Barbara McGagall had not outmanoeuvred him. They could have chosen the very ambitious and very intelligent Larry Grossman, except the word Ontario (one of the party that sustains its moribund membership) is a smart lady called Barbara McGagall had not outmanoeuvred him.

So our richest and most populous province is going to be run, at least, by a man who is a Jew, Ontario's future premier, opened by saying he was glad that he was not speaking to a convention of spinsters. That's class, man, that's class.

by an engineer who likes to sell cars. It fits. As do the other leaders, when you think of it, of the other provinces. We are the captives of regional personalities. Nervous René Lévesque, the world's greatest working advertisement for Jovis, caviar, cypresses, Quebec, which smokes more than any jurisdiction on earth with the exception of China. Once you cross the border into Quebec, you had best check with Blue Cross. The shawl of shawls does it. It's not just you manage to get into New Brunswick, alone.

Take Manitoba, a province that can't



really decide whether it is connected to delirious Ontario or is a card-carrying member of Western Canada. People used to think Ed Schreyer was comically dignified and formal until they inherited Premier Howard Pawley, whose idea of fun, as they say, is to go down to Eaton's on Friday night and try on gloves. Neighbour Saskatchewan, born-again since the Depression, home of all the great ones. Has the most stable economy of any province now and is epitomized by its very serious premier, Grant Devine, a chap with graduate degrees who currently roams the world in search of new markets, brandishing the brand new grille of his beloved hummer.

Alberta is still in some dire straits after the Oil Patch Epiphany, but Peter Lougheed has hung around for that very reason: a somewhat chippy barman who will never forgive Central Canada banks for what they did to his father, a capitalist who would warn Bonnie Rogers's

heart, as much a product of Alberta as Frank Miller is of Manitoba. British Columbia, suffering an unseasoned fit of ill-confidence, is represented perfectly by Mr. Woe, Bill Bennett, who like his celebrated father is insatiable, passionate, deeply suspicious of anything beyond Kenora (A previous premier, Dave Barrett, achieved office without ever having touched Montreal.)

One could take Newfoundland. One would think it improbable to find a more perfect extension of The Rock than Roy, all buried wire and rusty nails. But now we have the dispassionate little puppy, Brian Tuckwell, who is all flashing eyes and indignation, the teenage reincarnation of the arduous Seabrook. We wouldn't have it any other way. The best example of provincialism as an extension of personality was when Joey and Wacky were worthy bookends of the action, two wily manipulators who would never stand a boxer but could hunt a hot stove from under the eyes of the Bookish mandarins who were more interested in quiche.

Whoever is premier of Prince Edward Island is perfect, no one knows and no one cares. The only one who doesn't fit is the chap in Nova Scotia, a province forever etched in our minds as the domain of our own Abe Lincoln, Bob Stanfield, who Dulam Camp helped to establish as a senator. The gentleman serves to prove only that Halifax contains one hair stylist.

The point is that, contrary to myth, Canadian politics—and Canadian politics—are not dull. What if we had Thatcher and Dick Haddock? Don't be daft. With Frank Miller and his plaid jackets now returning Ontario safely into the arms of the bowling league and bago and all that is sacred in Owen Sound, the fabric of the country is secure. The civil choices of Toronto men on the Tory side have been repelled. Better still, Billy Davis in Brampton is smiling. He has been represented, the only indispensable remaining, the only genuinely mysterious man left in Canadian politics is the one sleeping at St. James Street. No one's really known who he is.

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